# THE C4 NEWSLETTER

*Summer 2012* *Volume 20, Number 2*

## A "TO AMERICA" JETON

Featured in this issue:

- The Last Connecticut and Vermont
- "Nach Amerika" Tokens of Nuremberg
- A Keeseville, NY Coin Hoard
- America's Foreign Coins
- Upcoming Convention News
- An Unusual Maris 56-n
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Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Charlie Rohrer at P.O. Box 25, Mountville, PA 17554. Dues are $25-regular (including 1st class mailing of the *Newsletter*); $10 for junior members (under 18).

# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

(Jim Rosen)

I hope all of you are having a wonderful and healthy summer. I am saddened, as we all are, by the fires in Colorado and the loss of life and property. Ray Williams, who just returned from the ANA course in Colorado, said that the air smelled like a closed room of cigar smokers, with 100 degree temperatures.

There has been a lot of activity going on behind the scenes with C4. As I am sure you are all aware, our convention this fall is aligned with the Baltimore Whitman Coins and Collectables show November 14 -17, essentially over by Sunday morning as most people leave Saturday late afternoon. For more information, please check the Whitman website, www.whitmanexpo.com and the C4 website, www.colonialcoins.org.

Although I did not have a chance to go to Buffalo for the EAC convention, (four years as an undergraduate in Buffalo was enough) I heard it was a very good show, with a C4 meeting run by who else but Ray Williams. The next meeting of C4 will occur at the **ANA** in Philadelphia on **Saturday morning, August 11th, 9 a.m. in room 104-A.** It is very worthwhile to have C4 meetings at major conventions to keep in touch with as many of our club members as possible, as well as for the dissemination of information. We usually have meetings Saturday mornings at both the EAC and ANA conventions. We have not had meetings at the FUN show in Florida, but since I always attend, we might want to consider having a meeting at this convention as well. Stayed tuned.

In an effort to maintain our membership numbers and to improve recruitment with new blood, I have formed a membership committee, consisting of Ray Williams, Jack Howes, Mike Wierzba and myself. We have divided our tasks into maintenance of membership and novel ways to recruit new members. Some of our ideas include involving C4 dealers with recruitment; having C4 members giving daytime educational lectures open to the public at the Baltimore convention on general topics of colonial coins; having a larger social area at our C4 table where we can meet and socialize with new collectors; having a slide show of colonial coins on a lap top at our table; and having examples of colonial coins for show and tell at our table. Also, for those of us who may have a friend who is not yet a member, we are thinking about inviting non-members to the educational program. We need to take advantage of this new Baltimore venue and large collector base to try and put on a good face and recruit new members. These are just a few of our ideas to enhance our membership. In the maintenance area, reminders will be placed in the January and April newsletter via an eight by eleven colored sheet of paper with a self-addressed envelope. Also, as I am sure you are all aware, we now have the ability to pay our dues with PayPal. Go on our website, www.colonialcoins.org and click on the link that says **"join us."**

After a huge labor of love, time, and effort, C4 now has its *Newsletters* on a disc, from 1993 Vol. 1, No.1 thru 2011 Vol.19, No.4. The main impetus for this work was Ray Williams who years ago began working on this idea. Fast forward to the present,

with the huge efforts of Randy Clark and Gary Trudgen in scanning the *Newsletters* and putting them on a disc as a searchable PDF file using Adobe. I have seen this and it is great. Presently, the Board of Directors is in discussions about how to distribute this marvelous disc. In addition, we have on our website a *Newsletter* index that is searchable via Author or Title/Topic -- the brainchild of Ray Williams and Randy Clark. So, we have made some great additions to the resources of our club.

I just made hotel reservations for our convention in Baltimore at the Sheraton Convention Center, the host hotel for our convention. Dennis Wierzba, our Bourse Chairman for years, has been working hard during this transition to Baltimore from Boston. Our format is going to be similar to Boston, with a welcome social, educa-tional program, business meeting, Colonial Auction, a colonial coin section on the bourse floor where our Club table will be, as well as our exhibits and colonial dealers. Unfortunately, as of this date, we do not know when the auction is going to be. That date will determine when and where our educational program and social are going to be held and as soon as that information is available I will place it on the website and in the *Newsletter* that comes out in October. And talking about auctions (was I talking about auctions?) there is still plenty of time to consign coins and currency to the Colonial Auction being co-sponsored by Stack's Bowers and C4. This auction, unlike previous auctions, is open to the general public, with phone and internet bidding, exposing your collection to a huge number of collectors and dealers. Thus it will be a much larger auction with a greater number of high quality consignments. Also, do not forget about donated lots. These lots will be integrated within the regular auction, but unlike years past, these lots **CANNOT** be colonial coins, currency or medals, but can be books or other colonial related material, like photographic plates, rare colonial catalogues or period newspapers. Please check with me on your potential consignment. Remember, 100% of the hammer price of these lots goes to C4 and the fair value of these lots can be tax deductible, since we are a 501(c)(3) organization. Discussion with your accountant is advised. Be sure that when you contact Vicken Yegparian or Chris Karstedt at Stack's Bowers regarding your **non-donated** consignments, you let them know that these consignments are coming from a C4 member or that a C4 member was instrumental in getting it. You can reach either of them at 800-566-2580 or 212-582-2580. Already, there are some wonderful consignments to this auction, with a large run of Fugios and a major colonial currency collection, which has been off the market for over a century.

One last thing: with this *Newsletter* is a ballot for the 2012 slate of officers for our club. Please submit this ballot no later than the end of September 2012. Newly elected officers will be listed in the *Newsletter* in October and installed at the Annual C4 Convention in Baltimore, November 2012.

I want to thank you for you confidence in my leadership. I have tried to keep you all up to date with what is happening in our club. As always, our *Newsletter* could use articles of interest on colonial related topics and don't forget about currency, an area that we need to expand. I need to thank everyone on the Board that has made this club special and has given of their time and effort to this club. Until next time, stay well and enjoy the hobby.

# CAPTAIN THOMAS MACHIN AND THE LAST CONNECTICUT AND VERMONT COPPERS

(Christopher R. McDowell)

Captain Thomas A. Machin did not scare easily. As a young man, he fought in the thick of the Battle of Minden during the Seven Years War alongside other British artillery cadets who distinguished themselves for bravery under fire. He was one of the few Revolutionary War officers to serve from the Battle of Bunker Hill to the Battle of Yorktown. During his military service, he was wounded twice by British musket balls.[1] However, the fear that gripped America in the summer of 1789 and threatened Machin's business was a different kind of fear; it was a mass panic, to be more precise, it was the Copper Panic of 1789. Before it was over, this economic hysteria would destroy many businesses, including Machin's.

There is a sense of irony in the fact that Machin's business was shuttered by the Copper Panic because his business was a contributing factor to the economic crisis. Machin, after all, was in the business of making underweight counterfeit copper coins. And the Copper Panic resulted from a glut of these coins flooding the market.

Machin made his coins at a grist and saw mill he built in 1784.[2] In 1787 Machin converted this mill into a mint and the products of that mint are referred to as Machin's Mills coppers. Machin's Mills was a business venture between Machin and a small group of men, many of whom were fellow Revolutionary War officers. Much more is known about Machin's Mills than other counterfeiting operations of this period. Obviously, the nature of counterfeit coining is normally secretive, but Machin's Mills operated somewhat in the open. It was inside Machin's Mills in 1789 that the last Connecticut and Vermont coppers were struck.

Machin's counterfeiting operation was not a fly-by-night casting scheme. During the Revolutionary War, Machin proved himself to be an extremely capable engineer and officer. Machin oversaw the manufacture and emplacement of the Great Chain across the Hudson River at West Point and his skills as an artillery officer and mathematician were displayed during the Battle of Yorktown when he destroyed with a single shot a British vessel that was harassing Colonial forces. Machin was a friend of Governor Clinton of New York and was well known and respected by Generals Knox and Washington.

In early October 1777, while defending Fort Montgomery, Machin was shot in the chest by a British musket ball that exited his right shoulder. It was the type of wound from which few eighteenth-century soldiers ever recovered. Machin convalesced from his injuries at the New Windsor home of General George Clinton. Machin was well treated by the Clinton family and from this point forward became a loyal and trusted friend of the Clintons. Machin later assisted Clinton in selling property and was, for a period, an officer under Clinton's command. As a result of his close association and friendship with Clinton, who served as governor of New York from 1777 to 1795,

Machin assumed he would receive the commission to manufacture the first official New York copper coins after submitting his petition in March 1787. It was for this purpose that Machin's Mills was initially established in April of 1787.

When New York declined the opportunity to manufacture its own coins, Machin and his partners entered into a joint venture with Reuben Harmon to manufacture Vermont coppers on June 7, 1787. Harmon and his partners held the right to mint Vermont coins. There was clearly nothing illegal about a New York business minting coins for the Republic of Vermont pursuant to a joint venture with the men who held the right to manufacture Vermont coinage. What Machin's Mills could do for Vermont, it could also do for Connecticut and New Jersey. No known written record indicates that Machin ever approached the New Jersey or Connecticut mints seeking to partner with them, but subsequent events make it apparent that both of these mints were acquainted with Machin's operation.

If the Connecticut mint would not enter into an agreement with him, Machin was capable of minting Connecticut coppers on his own without the official mint's cooperation or permission. After all, the odds that a New York sheriff would arrest Machin for minting Connecticut coppers without authorization from Connecticut were remote. No one was going to arrest a Revolutionary War hero and, more importantly, the good friend of Governor Clinton over such an issue. Accordingly, Machin could, within the limits of copper coins,[3] counterfeit with impunity. Machin took full advantage of this. In addition to legal Vermont coins, he also struck Connecticut, George II and George III halfpence, and is believed to have also made a few New Jersey coppers.[4]

The equipment used by Machin to strike his counterfeit and Vermont coppers was as sophisticated as the equipment used by the official mints of the period. By the time his operation was concluded, Machin had direct access to the actual equipment and some of the dies used by the official Connecticut and New Jersey mints.

The vast majority of the Machin's Mills counterfeit Connecticuts were manufactured in and dated 1788. Other coins were struck in 1787 and a few in 1789, but were dated 1787 or 1788. In July of 1788, Machin's Mills obtained at least some of the New Jersey coining equipment after Walter Mould fled to Ohio to avoid debtor's prison. Prior to absconding, Mould produced New Jersey coppers and also counterfeited the two laughing head varieties of Connecticut coppers.[5] Based on this, we can be certain that the last Connecticut was not a product of Mould's counterfeiting operations. It is unknown if Machin acquired the dies for the laughing head varieties; however, if he did, there is no evidence that he ever used them.

Sometime after September of 1788, Machin's Mills obtained the remaining equipment of James Jarvis and Company that was previously used to mint Connecticut coppers. In addition to the equipment, Machin is thought to have also acquired the draped bust hub and its corresponding reverse along with several dies and punches that were used to make authentic Connecticut dies. This was a counterfeiter's dream. Machin

now possessed all of the tools he needed to strike exact duplicates of authentic Connecticut coppers.

The final person who is known by name to have struck Connecticut coppers into 1788 and 1789 is Benjamin Buell, the son of Abel Buell. The elder Buell is widely credited as being the mastermind behind the advanced technology that created the complex hubs for the authentic Connecticut coppers. Prior to his departure for Europe, it is believed that Abel Buell provided his son with the dies and tools necessary to carry on the business of making Connecticut coppers. Benjamin Buell's operation was short-lived as he was required to cease his coining operation by a show-cause order issued by the State of Connecticut. Either the legislative order or simple economic realities led Benjamin Buell to sell or lease his equipment and dies to Machin in the spring or early summer of 1789.

By the summer of 1789, Machin was the only known manufacturer of Connecticut or Vermont coppers – counterfeit or authentic.[6] To the extent that anyone else was manufacturing Connecticut or Vermont coppers in the summer of 1789, the Copper Panic would soon run them out of business. Therefore, attention must focus on Machin's Mills as the source of the last Connecticut and Vermont coppers. A brief review of the Copper Panic of 1789 demonstrates that no one, not even Machin, had an economic incentive to mint coppers after September 1789.

By far, the best work on the Copper Panic of 1789, was written and researched by Dr. Philip L. Mossman.[7] Dr. Mossman writes that "public apathy towards counterfeit coppers appeared to give way to indignation and concern when from 1785 to 1787, the various states legislatures authorized coinage of specific weight to replace the sundry English counterfeits, tokens, and other lightweight issues."[8] In early 1787 the New York legislature outlawed all coppers less than 145.8 grains, and devalued all others from a rate of 14 to 20 per New York shilling effective as of August 1, 1787. The New York legislature's action was the first shot across the bow of underweight copper coinage. Machin, however, a man who had been on the receiving end of actual musket shots, was undeterred. Indeed, Machin's production of underweight coppers was just about to hit its peak.

Sometime in 1787 Machin began to counterfeit Connecticut coppers. The 1787 Miller 1.1-A, Small Head, was likely one of the first products of Machin's Connecticut counterfeiting operation. Based on the number of surviving 1.1-A coins, this effort was a great success. The 1.1-A obverse die was a workhorse that would later be mated with two different reverse dies. 1787 Miller 1.1-A coins are generally of low weight and often struck on clipped planchets. The average weight of 1.1-A coppers is well under 145.8 grains. Because Machin could make underweight coins,[9] and was under no obligation to pay the State of Connecticut a percentage of his production, his operation was more profitable than the "official" Connecticut mint. This may explain, in part, why Machin was able to stay in business longer than everyone else. Machin's business model, however, depended upon the public's continued acceptance of underweight copper coinage.

Despite the New York legislature's actions in 1787, the public and merchants continued to accept Machin's lightweight issues throughout 1788. This was about to change. At a meeting of the New York Common Council on July 21, 1789, copper coinage became the object of discussion and generated a notice that was subsequently carried in newspapers from Massachusetts to Pennsylvania that all copper coins from neighboring states should be valued at 48 coppers for one shilling. Within a week, the number of coppers equal to a shilling skyrocketed past the 48 to 1 ratio. By July 29, 1789, coppers were passing at 64 to a shilling in many places in New England and in New Haven, Connecticut, coppers passed at up to 72 per shilling. The Copper Panic hit hard and fast. By August, only the unsuspicious country farmer who had not yet received word of the collapse was willing to accept coppers at all.

The Copper Panic began to slacken after September 1789. However, only New Jersey coppers, which had a legal tender basis and were more consistent in quality than the alternative counterfeits, were accepted in New York, while Connecticut coppers stagnated at the deflated rate of 72 to the shilling. Dr. Mossman writes that "[i]n his inventory of the Stepney Hoard consisting of some 200 pieces, Breen lists 72 counterfeit halfpence, of which sixteen were imitation halfpence attributed to Machin's Mills. From this sample it is evident that many of the halfpence which discredited the copper medium were from [Machin's Mills]."[10] Machin had killed the golden goose.[11]

As a result of the Copper Panic of 1789, there was no economic incentive to counterfeit coppers after August 1789. Once the notice from the New York Common Council appeared, only a small window existed for Machin to strike and distribute coppers before all of his equipment, but especially his Connecticut dies, would be worthless. Moreover, there was no reason to continue to make dies for new Connecticut coppers in the face of the economic situation. Dies were expensive and complicated to make at this time.[12] Steel of a sufficient purity and hardness to make dies was difficult to procure.[13] Furthermore, once the time and money to make a die had been invested, there was really no way of knowing how long a die would last. It appears that Machin stopped making new Connecticut dies in 1788, if not earlier, and from that point forward relied upon dies he purchased from failing mints to supply his needs.[14] Yet another hindrance to copper production, both authentic and counterfeit, after 1789, was the ratification of the United States Constitution on June 21, 1788, which went into effect on March 4, 1789. The Constitution grants the right to coin money only to the federal government.

The Copper Panic and other circumstances under which the last coppers were minted are important factors in determining the identity of the last varieties struck. From these circumstances, the following assumptions are made concerning the last Connecticut and Vermont die combinations: (1) the last copper will be an underweight coin – perhaps significantly underweight; (2) it will be made from broken, shattered, and/or reused dies; (3) it will be rare; (4) it will be on a small or very poor quality planchet, (5) it will be die-linked to Machin's Mills, where it was made, and (6) it was struck in the summer of 1789, but dated 1788 or 1787. In addition to these assumptions, the objective criterion of

die state and die linkage analysis will show the coin to be the last use of a die combination.

As Connecticut and Vermont coppers were struck, often either the obverse or reverse die would fail and be replaced while the other die remained in the press. For example, the obverse Connecticut die, 1787 Miller 3 was paired with 1787 reverse die G.1 to produce 1787 Miller 3-G.1. As the dies were used, obverse 3 failed, but reverse G.1 was still in usable condition. The 3 obverse die was removed from the screw press and replaced with obverse 52 to form 1787 Miller 52-G.1. An examination of 3-G.1 and 52-G.1 can be conducted to determine which was struck first. This is done by looking at the reverse of both coins to see what, if any, die cracks are present. Any die cracks that develop during the usage of the 3-G.1 combination will be present on the reverse of the 52-G.1 combination; however, cracks that grow or new cracks that develop on the 52-G.1 will not be on the 3-G.1. Therefore, if new cracks or larger die cracks are observed on 52-G.1 that are not on the 3-G.1, it can be objectively proven that that 3-G.1 was struck before 52-G.1. When looking at 52-G.1 it can easily be seen that it was struck after the 3-G.1. Many 3-G.1 coins show a choice reverse with no die cracks whereas, many 52-G.1 coins show a distressed reverse die. Early in the striking of the 52-G.1, the dies clashed. A die crack developed in the upper left corner near "E" in "ET" that eventually ran to the seated figure and grew to consume the "E" entirely. Therefore, it can be said with certainty that the 52-G.1 was struck after 1787 Miller 3-G.1. As such, we know for a fact that 1787 Miller 3-G.1 was not the last Connecticut die combination struck at Machin's Mills.

It is believed by some that either 1787 Miller 52-G.1 or 52-G.2 was the last Connecticut copper. However, while 52-G.1 cannot be objectively eliminated using die state analysis and die linkage, 52-G.2 can. An examination of the 52 obverse shows heavy double die clashmarks on 52-G.1, but not on 52-G.2. Moreover, the obverse die on 52-G.1 is severely buckled on some examples, but this is not seen on 52-G.2.[15] Thus, it is clear that 52-G.2 preceded 52-G.1 in the minting sequence.

A graphic depiction of the die link chain that includes the 52-G.1 and 52-G.2 is helpful:

**The 1787 Miller 52-G.1 and 1788 Miller 16.5-H chain:**

3-G.1 → **52-G.1**
↑
52-G.2 → 101-G.2 →101-D →2-D→16.1-D → 16.1-H → 6-H → **16.5-H**

In a chain such as this, the earlier coins that have arrows moving away from them can objectively be ruled out as the last Connecticut. Thus, of the coins in this chain, only the 52-G.1 and 16.5-H remain as candidates for the last Connecticut copper. Any varieties in a chain that cannot be eliminated are in **bold** and eliminated coins are underlined. Both the 52-G.1 and 16.5-H will be examined in greater detail below.

A few of the other die chains that are important to examine when considering the last Connecticut and Vermont copper are shown here:

**The 1788 Miller 1-I / RR-39 chain:**

Connecticut Obverse / Vermont Reverse U

1.1-A → 1.1-VV → **1-I / RR-39** ← RR-31 ← RR-29 ← RR-28 ← RR-25

**The 1788 Miller 16.7-P and 1787 Miller 50-F and 32.4-F chain:**

15.2-P → **16.7-P** (1788 series)
↑
32.5-aa → 32.8-aa (1787 series)
↓
16.2-O → 17-O↔17-Q (1788 series)
↓ ↓
**50-F↔32.4-F** (1787 series)
↑
(16.4 obv.; 14.1 obv.; and 14.2 obv.) – all three of these
1788 obverse dies are linked to 1787 Miller 32.4-F and were used prior to it.

Because the dates that appear on the coins have only slight relationship to when they were minted, several coins dated 1787 were actually minted after many coins dated 1788. The 1787 Miller 50-F and 32.4-F are the last link in the chain for many 1788 die combinations. These two coins are what are known as biennial die combinations - they bridge the gap between calendar years. This happens when an obverse die is paired with at least two reverses - in this case, one dating 1787 and the other dated 1788. Normally, it could be assumed that the 1788 reverse was paired with the obverse after the 1787 reverse, but in the complex world of Connecticut coppers few things are what they seem. The 1787 Miller 32.4-F and 50-F are objectively at the end of a long die link chain that includes many 1787 and 1788 dies. Where a double arrow ↔ appears it indicates that it cannot be determined from die state analysis which coin was struck first.

**1788 Miller 7-K Chain:**

*10-C* ↔ *12.2-C* (1788) 11.1-E (1787)
↕ ↓
9-E →12.1-E ↔ 12.2-E ↔ 7-E→7-F.2→**7-K**
↑
*3.1-B.1*→ *4.1-B.1*→ 4.1-K→8-K
↓
12-Q (1787)

There are several die combinations that cannot be objectively eliminated using die state and linkage analysis because either die state analysis is inconclusive or because they are not linked to any other known dies. Die combinations that were just a one-time use of both the obverse and reverse dies includes: 1788 Miller *4.2-R;* 11-G; 13-A.1; 15.1-L.1 and *16.3-N*. Since all of these coins were most likely issued by Machin's Mills, none of

them can ever be entirely eliminated as the last Connecticut copper. The only way to eliminate these coins and the remaining Machin's Mills coins that are the termination of a die link chain is to apply the assumptions above to each coin and eliminate those coins that do not meet the assumed factors.

Another group of Machin 1788 die combinations that are circumstantially eliminated are those coins that are generally or always found overstruck on a Nova Constellatio. Sometime in late 1787 or early 1788 Machin came into possession of a large group of Novas. The New York law that took effect on August 1, 1787 outlawing all coppers less than 145.8 grains had the effect of seriously devaluing Novas. Novas were all below the 145.8 grain standard. It is speculated that sometime in the late summer of 1787, Novas stopped circulating freely in New York. Opportunists, such as Machin, were able to buy Novas at steep discounts from previous values.

The Novas were worth more to Machin than just about anyone else because he could take a worthless Nova and put it in a screw press between two Connecticut dies and instantly create a counterfeit coin that would pass in commerce. Buying the Novas also solved the constant problem of finding adequate copper stock. Further, the cost and time of cutting and rolling the copper was eliminated. As a result, the devalued Novas presented a fantastic opportunity for Machin to turn a quick profit. Based on this, it is rather surprising that all future Machin's were not struck over Novas. There are only a few possible explanations for why Machin would not simply make all future coppers from underweight discarded Novas. It is speculated that one or more of the following events occurred: (1) he purchased all of the Novas that he could and was not able to purchase more in bulk; or (2) he already had a large supply of copper on hand and needed to use it; or (3) merchants and/or the public eventually caught onto the trick and refused to accept obviously overstruck coppers. It may never be known which, if any, of these reasons is why Machin stopped overstriking his coppers on Novas.

The fact that people would not accept underweight Novas, but would accept underweight Connecticuts that were obviously struck over Novas, is rather astonishing; however, based on the large numbers of heavily circulated Connecticuts struck over Novas, there is little doubt that the public, at least initially, widely accepted them in commerce. The Connecticuts that were overstruck on Novas were generally minted (or reminted) in early to mid-1788. It was speculated by Walter Breen that Benjamin Buell overstruck many of his limited production of coppers over Novas.[16] From the evidence at hand, it can reasonably be assumed that die combinations that are always or mostly found overstruck on Novas were created months before the Copper Panic hit and therefore these die combinations should be eliminated as the last Connecticut copper. This includes the following coins: *3.1-B.1; 3.2-B.2; 5-B.2; 4.1-B.1; 4.2-R; 10-C; 12.2-C*. The *16.3-N* is infrequently found overstruck on a Massachusetts counterfeit copper. For this reason, the *16.3-N* is also being eliminated. All eliminated overstruck coins are in italics.

After applying the objective die state analysis and removing the coins generally overstruck, the remaining coppers are: 1787 Miller 32.4-F; 50-F; 52-G.1; 1788 Miller 1-I; 7-K; 11-G; 12.1-F.1; 13-A.1; 15.1-L.1; 16.5-H; and 16.7-P.

There is no reason to suspect that Machin created a new die or used a new die for the first time in the final days of his operation. To the contrary, as set forth above, it can reasonably be assumed that Machin did not commission any new dies in 1789 and that the dies in use in 1789 were dies previously used by Jarvis, Buell, or Machin. For this reason, 11-G, 13-A.1 and 15.1-L.1 are eliminated as they represent the first and only known use of a die. A reasonable argument can be made for each of these die marriages as the last Connecticut copper; however, it is unlikely that Machin commissioned new dies near the end of his operation or held onto good dies but did not use them when he was using other very poor dies. Moreover, application of the subjective criteria further eliminates these die combinations.

By applying the subjective assumptions to the remaining coins, 12.1-F.1 and 12.2-C are also eliminated leaving only the following coins: 1787 Miller 32.4-F; 50-F; 52-G.1; 1788 Miller 1-I, 7-K, 16.5-H, and 16.7-P. A detailed analysis of each of these coins must be made to determine which one may be the last Connecticut copper.

**Connecticut 1788 Miller 1-I / Vermont RR-39**: There are many good arguments for selecting the 1-I as the last Connecticut copper. In preparing this article a number of Connecticut collectors were surveyed regarding their opinion as to the identity of the last Connecticut copper, this list includes: Jeff Rock, Dr. Philip Mossman, Syd Martin, Randy Clark, Robert Martin, William Gleckler, and Richard August.[17] Although not everyone picked the 1-I, it received the plurality of votes.

The 1-I is a muling between a Connecticut obverse and the Vermont U reverse. The 1788 Miller obverse 1 is the same obverse die as 1787 Miller obverse 1.1, but in a later die state. The obverse die of the 1-I is extremely worn. The die is badly buckled and appears as if it could shatter at any moment. In the '75 EAC catalog, Walter Breen concluded his description of a 1787 Miller 1.1-VV obverse by stating that it has "local weakness from advanced die failures. . . the obverse survived a day or two longer"[18] matched with the 1788 Vermont U reverse. By the end of its use as part of the 1787 1.1-VV combination, the 1.1 die was severely damaged. Only a desperate situation would cause it to be placed back into service.

The Vermont U reverse die used on the 1-I is also in a terminal state. There is a raised lip on the edge of the reverse above the head of the seated figure. This lip does not always show because of the small size of the planchet. According to Tony Carlotto, the edge of the die must have clipped off for this lip to occur.[19] The image of the seated figure is often washed out by bulging of the die in the center. Clearly this reverse die was pushed well beyond its useful life. The story of the Vermont reverse U die shows that the 1788 Miller 1-I was struck late in 1789.

When the Rupert Vermont facility closed in early 1789, the remaining dies were taken to Machin's Mills.[20] These dies included the U reverse.[21] The Vermont U reverse was previously used in combination with several Vermont obverses. The last use of the U reverse by the Rupert facility was in combination with obverse 22 to strike RR-29.

Near the end of its use as part of RR-29, the U reverse die was in a very sorry state - the die was sinking in the center and a break in the right field of the die developed. Upon receipt of this well-worn die in 1789, Machin first mated it with a George III obverse to form the muling known as RR-31. Amazingly, the die survived this pairing to later be used with the 1787 obverse 1.1 to form the 1-I combination.

The 1788 Miller 1-I technically belongs to three different series: Connecticut, Vermont, and Machin's Mills. Fortunately, this also means that researchers from three series examine it. For those who collect Vermont coins, it is better known as RR-39. Tony Carlotto in his book, *The Copper Coins of Vermont*, places the RR-39 as one of the last Vermont die marriages minted.[22] Carlotto's sequence of Vermont issues is basically the same as that provided by Kenneth Bressett in 1976.[23] Carlotto indicates that two coins may have been minted after the 1-I/RR-39. Bressett lists only one. The two coins suspected of having been minted after the 1-I/RR-39 by Carlotto are also Vermont mulings: RR-1 and RR-40.

The RR-40 is now considered a modern forgery.[24] Therefore, the RR-40 merits no further consideration. The other coin which both Carlotto and Bressett list as being minted subsequent to the 1-I/RR-39 is Vermont RR-1, which has an Immune Columbia reverse dated 1785. The RR-1 is a Machin's Mills piece. The die for the Immune Columbia is believed to have come into Machin's possession when he acquired the equipment from the New Jersey mint in July 1788.[25] Overall, the RR-1 has a much higher average weight than the 1-I/RR-39. Thus, there is a strong circumstantial argument to place the RR-1 before the 1-I/RR-39 in the Vermont sequence with no real evidence to place it after. As such, based on weight analysis,[26] it can be logically assumed that the 1-I/RR-39 was the last Vermont copper struck.[27] For this reason, the proper Vermont sequence order should be: RR-2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 34, 14, 12, 32, 19, 20, 37, 38, 23, 36, 22, 21, 17, 16, 26, 25, 13, 27, 18, 35, 33, 28, 29, 24, 30, 31, 1, 39.

The 1-I/RR-39 must be further examined and compared to the remaining Connecticut coppers to determine if it is also the final Connecticut copper.

The 1-I is generally struck on very small misshapen planchets and is generally very light weight. Examples of weights listed by Carlotto are: 80.9, 86.4, 89.2, 96.0, 99.0 (Taylor), 100.9, 102.0, and 103.5 grains. In addition to these weights, the Perkins coin weighed 86.7 grains and the Peter Scherff coin weighed 108.8 grains as did the Ford example. A coin sold in Goldberg Sale 53, lot 34 weighed 99.3 grains. The ANS has five 1-I coins, which weigh 80.9, 91.8, 101, 105.1, and 109.3 grains. The SLT coin weighed 90.0 grains. These coppers expand the range of weights reported by Carlotto from a low of 80.9 to a high of 109.3 grains. Anyway you examine it, however, the 1-I/RR-39 is an extremely underweight coin, with an average weight of approximately 97 grains.

Carlotto reports 50 extant and a rarity of 5 for the 1-I/RR-39. This is generally in agreement with what Connecticut experts report. As such, within the realm of Connecticut coppers, the 1-I is not a particularly rare coin. Because this coin is collected

in three different series (Connecticut, Vermont, and Machin) it is heavily sought after and its value reflects the increased demand making some collectors believe it is rarer than it actually is. It can be assumed that most of the extant 1-I coppers have been identified. The unique appearance of the 1-I/RR-39 makes it very easy to attribute.

The fact that the 1-I is a muling weighs in its favor as the last Connecticut; however this is not dispositive of the question. Machin produced a number of odd muling combinations. An argument can be made that Machin would not have matched a Connecticut obverse with anything other than a Connecticut reverse, if a Connecticut reverse were available. This assertion is compelling, but it does not explain the 101-G.2 or 102-D. As shown in the above "1787 Miller 52-G.1 and 1788 Miller 16.5-H chain," the 101-G.2 and 102-D, which have a George III obverse, were struck before several coins that have a Connecticut obverse and reverse. The 101-G.2 and 102-D were struck at a time when more appropriate non-George III obverse dies were available. That being the case, the fact that the 1-I is a muling is some evidence that it was produced late, but this alone does not mean that the 1-I is the last Connecticut.

Connecticut 1788 Miller 1-I / Vermont RR-39 was the last Vermont copper marriage struck; however, before anointing it as the last Connecticut copper, the remaining Connecticut candidates must be examined in detail and compared to the 1-I.

**1788 Miller 16.5-H:** Like several 1788 Machin's Mills pieces, this die combination can never be objectively eliminated as it is at the end of a die link chain. In other words, there are no other later uses of the obverse or reverse dies. This coin challenges some of the assumptions regarding what the last Connecticut copper should look like.

In my communication with Dr. Mossman concerning the last Connecticut copper, he replied that his selection was not original with him, but came from David Sonderman, PhD, from whom he purchased an UNC 1788 Miller 16.5-H in 1977. Dr. Mossman went on to state that Sonderman informed him that he had seen more UNC 16.5-H Connecticut coppers than any other variety. Dr. Mossman later conducted a census of state coppers and identified 17 examples of the 16.5-H, of which 6 were UNCs or AU with 3 EFs. Dr. Mossman's belief is that the last Connecticut copper is a piece that saw little circulation. Therefore, the argument goes, because there are more well preserved 16.5-H coins than any other Machin's Mills draped bust left, it could be the last Connecticut copper.

Dr. Mossman's argument has much merit and is very compelling. The economic conditions into which the last Connecticut copper was released were such that it can be argued that the coin would have seen very limited circulation. As shown above, the Copper Panic of 1789 halted the circulation of Connecticut coppers by September 1789. As such, it is entirely appropriate to add an additional assumption stating that the last Connecticut copper will be found in a higher grade of preservation than other varieties.

This assumption, however, cannot be the guiding star of the inquiry into the last Connecticut copper. After all, the number of coins and the state of preservation of a coin

over time is often more a factor of luck rather than when a coin was actually minted. For example, as a result of the Randall Hoard, there are many more well preserved 1818 and 1820 large cents than some other dates that were minted after 1820.[28]

The 16.5-H is really two coins in one.[29] In Henry C. Miller's 1920 compilation of Connecticut coinage he lists a 16.5-H and a 16.6-H.[30] In the mid-1960s, Edward Barnsley delisted the 16.6-H, explaining that the two obverses were the same. As Miller states, the 16.6-H is the same as the 16.5-H except the die was "recut" and the resulting coin has much heavier lettering with the I "especially thick and badly shaped."[31] According to William Gleckler, who has studied the two coins extensively, "[t]he majority of the rework appears to have occurred prior to extensive rusting."[32] Gleckler goes on to state that "[t]he rusting of the [dies] would have had to have been extensive." Gleckler also believes that there was more than one reworking of the obverse die and that the rework was "profound."

Obviously, the 16.6-H was struck subsequent to the16.5-H. It is unknown how much time passed between the first and second use. The amount of time between uses, however, was long enough that significant rust formed on the die. Based on the fact that the 16.5-H is die linked to five other 1788 die combinations and comes after them all, the first striking of 16.5-H occurred late in 1788 or early in 1789. Accordingly, the second use of the dies (the 16.6-H) most probably occurred in 1789. Thus, making it a serious contender for the last Connecticut copper.

It is unlikely that either the 16.5-H or 16.6-H is the last Connecticut copper. The 16.5-H is a relatively light coin as compared to other Machin's Mills issues, but not nearly as light as the 1-I.[33] Furthermore, it does not make sense that in the final days of his operation Machin would take the time to recut a die. When an examination is made of all the poor quality coppers that escaped Machin's facility, it is hard to believe that he would have literally stopped the presses in order to make small modifications to the 16.5-H die. Quality Assurance was not foremost in Machin's mind in the late summer of 1789 and the 16.5-H and 16.6-H show a degree of care that would not be expected of someone in a rush to knock out as many coppers as possible before they became worthless. For this reason, the 16.5-H and the 16.6-H are eliminated from further consideration.

**1787 Miller 32.4-F and 50-F:** These two coppers will be considered together. At first blush, it may seem odd to consider a 1787 copper as the last Connecticut; however, as shown above, die state analysis conclusively shows that these two coins were not struck in 1787. It is generally believed that both of these coins were struck in 1789.

At the 2011 C-4 Convention in Boston, a request was made for collectors to bring their 32.4-F and 50-F coins so they could be examined to determine which is the later die state. Many collectors responded. Die state analysis based on photographs of the two coins was inconclusive and it was hoped that examination of a large number of these marriages would yield a definitive answer as to the sequence. The finest 50-F appears to be the Canfield coin in the ANS. The finest 32.4-F viewed is a coin owned by Neil Rothschild.[34]

Amongst the coins examined, there was no smoking gun that gives clear guidance as to which was struck last. The following observations between the two coins are noted: (1) the overall quality of the 50-F coppers is higher – the strike is better on both the obverse and reverse; (2) the 32.4-F is rarer than the 50-F. Indeed, perhaps twice the number of 50-F coppers have survived as compared to 32.4-F coppers; (3) there is a very small die crack between the "I" in INDE and the knee of the bust figure that appears to be slightly longer and thicker on the 50-F as compared to the 32.4-F; however, this is not conclusive because of the poor quality of samples viewed; (4) the 50-F is of lower average weight. The weights of the 50-F are, however, all over the board. On the one hand, lot 2677 in the Taylor sale weighed 141.9 grains, but one of the ANS coins weighs 88.74 grains. On average, the 50-F weighs around 108 grains. Compared to the 50-F, the 32.4-F is rather heavy. Because there are so few extant, it is hard to gather accurate statistics on the weight of the 32.4-F as one particularly heavy or light coin will skew the data. After reviewing all the auction records for the 32.4-F and personally examining perhaps as many as half the known surviving examples, it is my belief that the average weight of the 32.4-F is around 132 grains.[35]

Although some evidence points to the 32.4-F as being struck after the 50-F, the weight of the evidence points to the 50-F as being the later struck coin. It is generally accepted that as time went on, Machin reduced the weight of his coins. The difference in average weight between the 32.4-F (132 grains) and 50-F (108 grains) is significant. Based on this, it must be concluded that the 50-F was struck after the 32.4-F. Therefore, the 32.4-F was not the last Connecticut copper struck by Machin, but that does not mean that the 50-F was last. Both 1787 Miller 52-G.1 and 1788 Miller 1-I have an average weigh below 100 grains. If 1787 Miller 32.4-F is eliminated because 50-F is of significantly lower average weight, then it is only logical that 50-F be eliminated because two of the other coppers being considered are of significantly lower average weight. For this reason, 50-F is eliminated from consideration.

**1788 Miller 7-K**: The 7-K is at the end of a long die link chain. The 7-K has an average weight of approximately 109 grains. The range of weights goes from a low of 85.1 to a high of 137.8 grains[36] with most extant falling into a rage of between 95 to 119 grains. As such, there is a significant difference between the average weight of the 7-K and the weight of the 1-I, with the 7-K being much heavier. The 7-K is very rare at R-7. Based on where the 7-K sits on the die link chain, it is clear that it was struck at Machin's Mills. Walter Breen suggests that the obverse 7 die came into Machin's possession when Benjamin Buell sold the assets of his coining operation to Machin in 1789.[37]

The 1788 obverse 7 is the same die as 1787 obverse 11.1. The 1787 Miller 11.1-E coppers have an average weight that is significantly higher than 1788 Miller 7-K. The 11.1-E typically weighs between 135 to 150 grains. As such, there is strong circumstantial evidence that the 11.1-E was struck much earlier than the 7-K. If Machin did not come into possession of Buell's dies until 1789, that obviously means that the 7-K was struck in 1789, not 1788, as indicated on the coin. Based on the die linkage chain, rarity, average weight, planchet quality, believed history of how Machin came into

possession of the obverse 7 die, and condition of the dies, it is very likely that the 7-K was one of the very last coins struck at Machin's Mills in the summer of 1789. However, the fact that the 7-K is over 10 full grains heavier than the average 1788 Miller 1-I copper leads to the conclusion that it was probably struck before the 1-I. As such, the 7-K is eliminated in favor of the 1-I.[38]

**1787 Miller 52-G.1:** This Connecticut is a favorite of collectors because it is one of only a few right facing 1787 coppers. The 52-G.1 weighs an average of approximately 98 grains.[39] This is slightly higher than the average weight of the 1788 Miller 1-I. Still, the 52-G.1 is one of the lightest marriages. The 52-G.1 is currently rated R-6-. As such, it is not particularly rare. Moreover, because of the poor planchet quality and rough appearance of this copper, it is likely that there are some unattributed examples yet to be discovered.

The dies used to strike the majority of 52-G.1 coppers were in very poor condition. Heavy double clash marks can be seen on the obverse of many 52-G.1 examples along with several bulges. The reverse shows a large die break. The obverse die in particular was pushed well beyond its useful life. While this is true of the majority of surviving 52-G.1 coppers, there is at least one known example with no clash marks.[40] The 52-G.1 can be found in three die states (1) no clash marks; (2) one clash mark with date clearly showing on top of obverse; and (3) two clash marks with second clash mark appearing as an incuse IND in the lower left of the obverse.

The 52-G.1 is clearly linked to Machin's Mills. The 52-G.1, like the 1-I, is also a die that was originally made specifically for Machin's Mills. In other words, it is not a die that came to Machin when he purchased the assets of someone else's defunct minting operation. Die state analysis shows that the 52-G.1 was struck after 3-G.1 and after 52-G.2.[41] The 52-G.2 is an extremely rare coin.[42] Based on the rarity of the 52-G.2, the 52 obverse could not have been used very long in combination with the G.2 reverse. Based on die linkage, the 52-G.2 copper was struck in 1787 or early 1788 at the latest. The 52-G.1 and 52-G.2 are the only two known uses of the 52 obverse.

The 52-G.1 has every indication of being the last Connecticut and it can never be absolutely eliminated from consideration based on the objective evidence of die state analysis. Therefore, the 52-G.1 merits serious consideration as the last Connecticut copper. A closer examination of the 52-G.1; however, reveals that it is not likely that it is the last variety struck.

In order for the 52-G.1 to be the last Connecticut copper the following facts would have to have occurred: First, Machin would have paid a great deal of money to create the 52 obverse die in 1787. Second, Machin would have used the 52 obverse to strike only a few 52-G.2 coppers in 1787 or early 1788. Third, Machin would have stopped using the 52 obverse die and kept it anywhere from 18 months to a year without using it again. This is not a logical sequence of events. Dies were very expensive and complicated to manufacture. The small number of strikes used to make the few 52-G.2 coppers do not appear to have damaged the obverse die based on the fact that at least one

52-G.1 shows no clash marks. It is illogical to assume Machin kept this valuable undamaged die on the shelf for over a year as the Copper Panic approached and the U.S. Constitution banned production of State coinage. Good business practice mandates the need to put an expensive undamaged die to immediate use. Thus, despite the fact that the 52-G.1 is of low weight, made from poor dies, and struck on poor quality planchets, logic dictates that it was struck in 1787 or 1788 and not the summer of 1789.[43]

Accordingly, although a strong case can still be made that 1787 Miller 52-G.1 is the last Connecticut, it is eliminated from further consideration.

**1788 Miller 16.7-P:** The 16.7-P has an average weight of approximately 108 grains. The range of weights goes from a low of 89 to a high of 129.3 grains with most extant falling into a range of 100 to 115 grains. As such, there is a significant statistical difference between the average weight of the 16.7-P and the weight of the 1-I and 52-G.1, with the 16.7-P being much heavier. None-the-less, the 16.7-P is significantly below the authorized weight of 145.8 grains and, as compared to all other Connecticut coppers, significantly under weight. The 16.7-P is a rare coin at R-7- and is a product of Machin's Mills.

At the time of the EAC '75 Pine Tree Auction, Breen was uncertain as to the die break sequences of the 1788 draped bust design coppers because of the poor examples available for examination. The 16.7-P was not originally known to Miller and was incorrectly identified as 15.3-P because the only one known was too poor to show the period after AUCTORI. Fortunately, a sufficient number of coppers have now been located so as to make die break sequencing possible. As such, it is possible to identify the 16.7-P as being struck after both 15.2-P and 1787 Miller 32.5-aa.

It is believed that the draped bust die used to strike the 16.7-P came to Machin from Jarvis after Jarvis abandoned his minting operation. That the dies were worn and the planchet stock poor is demonstrated by the fact that this variety was not fully identified until the 1960's. Accordingly, the 16.7-P meets all of the subjective criteria for what the last Connecticut copper should look like. This die marriage has every appearance of being struck under desperate circumstances in the last days of Machin's operation. There is little doubt that the 16.7-P was one of the last coppers struck by Machin; however, the fact that the 16.7-P is over 10 full grains heavier than the average 1788 Miller 1-I copper leads to the conclusion that it was probably struck before the 1-I. As such, the 16.7-P is eliminated in favor of the 1-I.

**The Last Connecticut and Vermont Copper:** When all of the objective and subjective factors are considered and after examining all varieties with a legitimate claim to the title, the last Connecticut copper variety struck is most likely 1788 Miller 1-I. Objectively, the 1-I cannot be eliminated. When the subjective criteria are applied, the 1-I comes out on top in every category except rarity. Thus, the last Connecticut copper is also the last Vermont copper. It will never be known for sure which Connecticut or Vermont variety was the last copper struck at Machin's Mills; however, the coin with the best claim to the title of last Connecticut and last Vermont copper is 1-I/RR-39.

## ENDNOTES

[1] For an outstanding account of CPT Machin's life and military service, see Gary A. Trudgen, "Thomas Machin -- Patriot," *The Colonial Newsletter* ("*CNL*") 22 (Nov. 1983), pp. 831-48. Although Machin fought at the battle of Bunker Hill, it is not entirely clear which side he fought for on that day. Military records indicate that Machin deserted from the British Army on the night of July 26-27, 1775 -- a little over a month after the battle. Don N. Hagist, "Thomas Machin: Deserter From 23rd Regiment of Foot, Royal Welch Fusiliers," *C4 Newsletter*, Vol 16, No. 2. (Summer 2008), pp. 42-43. Machin quickly became an asset to the American Cause. Washington called him, "Lieut. Machine," and described him as "an ingenious Man." *Ibid.* Machin assisted in establishing the American artillery batteries on Dochester Heights, which resulted in the British retreat from Boston. *Ibid.*

[2] Gary A. Trudgen, "Machin's Mills," *CNL* 23 (July 1984), pp. 861-83.

[3] It is alleged, but not proven, that in addition to striking copper coins, Machin also struck a few silver coins. Minting counterfeit silver coins was a much more risky venture as the penalty for doing so was death.

[4] In e-mail correspondence with Clement Schettino, he indicated that most New Jersey collectors believe that M 54-k was struck at Machin's Mills. There is also a belief that the New Jersey Running Fox types were also struck at Machin's Mills. It is thought that the 1787 "Camel Head" series of New Jersey coppers were minted by Machin -- this includes Maris numbers 56 through 58. See, Norman G. Peters, "Machin's Mills Halfpence; America's Forgotten Early Coppers," *The Numismatist*, Sept. 1986, p. 1804. There remains great debate as to what, if any, New Jersey coppers were struck by Machin.

[5] 1787 Miller 6.1-M and 6.2-M.

[6] It should also be noted that the Massachusetts mint closed on January 23, 1789. Although the Massachusetts mint is not believed to have struck any Connecticut coppers, the closure of that facility in early 1789 means that Machin's Mill was the only known operational mint in America in the summer of 1789.

[7] Phillip L. Mossman, *Money* (1992), Chapter Eight, The Copper Panic of 1789.

[8] Ibid, p. 204.

[9] According to Denis R. Cooper, cutting blanks to a circle of exact weight was the most costly part of the minting process. Cooper, *The Art and Craft of Coinmaking: A History of Minting Technology* (1968), p. 20. An advantage of making underweight coins is that it eliminated the precision tooling and time required to make coins of an exact size and weight. This is another advantage that Machin had over the licensed mints.

[10] This quote appears in *CNL* 26 (Sept. 1986) p. 161, which is a preliminary review copy of Dr. Mossman's book "Money"; however, it appears to have been removed from the final version of the book.

[11] In editing this work, Jeff Rock points out that the majority of lightweight coppers were British and Irish pieces struck in England and shipped to America. Rock notes that these coppers were of much lighter weight and more numerous than Machin's pieces. The inventory of the Stepney Hoard supports Rock's opinion. In further editing this work, Dr. Mossman disputes Rock's edit and, pointing to Table 21 in *Money,* Dr. Mossman argues that his analysis shows that there was not much of a difference in weight between British, Irish, and Machin pieces; however, he does agree that the foreign coins were much more numerous. Accordingly, it would probably be more accurate to state that Machin wounded the goose. Certainly, many hands were responsible for the demise of copper coinage in 1789 and the entire blame cannot be placed at Machin's feet. With that said, Machin was the primary counterfeiter

of Connecticut State coinage and it would be fair to state that Machin had more to do with discrediting Connecticut coinage than anyone else.

[12] Crosby published several detailed contemporaneous letters relating to the Massachusetts mint's difficulties with procuring proper dies at a sufficient price. Initially, the Massachusetts' dies were prepared at a very high cost of £1 4s each. Later, an arrangement was made whereby the engraver received compensation equal to one percent of the coins produced from the dies. See Crosby, pp.. 251-259.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Indeed, it was the Massachusetts mint's inability to take into account and control the costs of its dies that in large part resulted in that mint's closure. Basically, each coin cost more than double its face value to produce.

[15] Compare lots 77 and 78 in *Pine Tree Auction Catalog*, February 15, 1975.

[16] Walter Breen (cataloger), *Pine Tree Auction Catalog*, February 15, 1975, pp. 43-44. It should be noted that Breen speculated wildly concerning Benjamin Buell with little evidence to support his theories. Many of Breen's conclusions have not stood the test of time. In other instances, however, Breen has been proven to be a visionary. The jury is still out on much of Breen's speculations concerning Benjamin Buell.

[17] I would like to thank each of these men for responding to my many requests and questions. I would also like to thank Tony Corlotto for sharing with me his knowledge of Vermont coppers and Clem Schettino for assisting me with information on New Jersey coppers and Brad Karoleff for helping edit this work.

[18] *Pine Tree Auction Catalog*, February 15, 1975, Lot 76.

[19] Tony Carlotto, *The Copper Coins of Vermont*, (1998), p. 185.

[20] Kenneth Bressett, "Vermont Copper Coinage," (1976), ANS *Studies on Money in Early America*, pp. 173-198.

[21] Ibid, p. 177.

[22] Tony Carlotto, *The Copper Coins of Vermont*, (1998), p. 191.

[23] Kenneth Bressett, "*Vermont Copper Coinage*," (1976), *ANS Studies on Money in Early America*, pp. 173-198.

[24] In e-mail communications with Mr. Carlotto, he informed me that the RR-40 is a modern forgery.

[25] Vermont researchers have known for over 50 years that RR-1 was struck well after 1785. It is believed that the reverse (Immune Columbia) die, which is of fine workmanship, was made by Thomas Wyon of Birmingham, England. "How this old English die found its way to America to be used in combination with a Vermont obverse is one of the deep mysteries of early American numismatics;" per John M. Richardson, "The Copper Coins of Vermont," (1962), introduction by Howard Kurth, p. 335, Reprinted from *The Numismatist*.

[26] In his analysis of RR-1, Carlotto states that "[s]ome weights are fairly high, considering that almost all are known on small planchets of approximately 25.0 to 25.3 mm. Some weights encountered are: Taylor 132.6, Garrett/Roper 118.2, Norweb #1, 106.7, Norweb #2, 104.6, 112.0, and 119.1 in VHS, and 122.8 grains in private hands." Carlotto, *The Copper Coins of Vermont*, p. 78. Recent auction sales of RR-1 are consistent with Carlotto's findings as the average weight of coins sold in recent years is around 120 grains. In comparison, there are no known 1-1 coppers that approach that weight and the average weight of the 1-1/RR-39 is 96 grains. Therefore, there is a significant statistical difference in

the weight of the RR-1 verse the 1-1/RR-39. Considering that the trend of Machin's Mills' coins is a reduction in weight over time, the evidence strongly suggests that 1-I/RR-39 was struck after the RR-1.

[27] There is a question of whether 1-I/RR-39 is a "true" Connecticut or Vermont coin. It can be argued that mulings should not be considered as part of the Connecticut or Vermont series. The purpose of this article is not to engage in this debate. Moreover, the purpose of this article is not to determine the last coin issued by a legitimate Connecticut mint or the definition of "legitimate." The 1-I/RR-39 has a Ryder number and a Miller number and is widely accepted by collectors of both series; thus, it is considered here.

[28] The Stepney Hoard is not known to have contained any 1788 Miller 16.5-H coins. See, "The Stepney Hoard: Fact or Fiction," by Philip L. Mossman, *CNL* 108 (August 1989) pp. 1809-51.

[29] The information in this paragraph comes largely from a recent article by William Gleckler, "*Apples,* Oranges....Apples,"*C4 Newsletter*, Vol 19, No. 3. (Fall 2011). Special thanks to Mr. Gleckler for sharing his article prior to its publication.

[30] Henry C. Miller, "The State Coinage of Connecticut," 1920, p. 57.

[31] Ibid.

[32] William Gleckler, "Apples, Oranges....Apples,"*C4 Newsletter*, Vol 19, No. 3. (Fall 2011).

[33] Unfortunately, there is not sufficient information on the weight difference between 16.5-H and 16.6-H coppers because the two are often confused and because the 16.6-H has been delisted as it was determined that it is only a die state of the 16.5-H. In theory, the 16.6-H should weigh less than the 16.5-H. Hopefully, someone will take up this project in the future and confirm or reject this hypothesis

[34] Neil's 32.4-F is an exceptional coin. I appreciate Neil providing me the opportunity to look at this great coin and compare it in person to many 50-F coppers brought to C-4 in Boston. The second finest 32.4-F seen is the SLT coin, which is now in the author's collection.

[35] In reaching this conclusion I have disregarded the ANS coin that weighs 88.74 grains as it has a large clip.

[36] Richard August reports that the 7-K in his collection weighs 10.1 grams or 155.87 grains. Because this coin is so extremely heavy, it was not considered as part of this analysis; however, if it were considered, it would only reinforce the theory that the 7-K is not the last Connecticut.

[37] *Pine Tree Auction Catalog*, February 15, 1975, p. 45.

[38] In editing this work, Dr. Mossman points out that the 7-K is so rare that there are not enough survivors to conduct a valid statistical comparison. From a scientific point of view, Dr. Mossman is correct. Therefore, the elimination of 1788 Miller 7-K, like the elimination of many coins here, must be taken with a grain of salt. Decisions on which coins to eliminate must be made and a 10 grain difference, even with so few coins, is enough of a difference in the author's opinion to eliminate the 7-K in favor of the 1-I.

[39] This is the most accurate number that can be obtained. The number is calculated by considering the known weights of thirteen 52-G.1 specimens: 90.0; 91.5; 95.0; 95.4; 95.5; 96.7; 97.1; 98.8; 100.3; 104.9; 105; 107.7, and 111.1 grains.

[40] This example is in rough condition and it is possible, but unlikely, that the clash marks are present but just not discernable; however, a careful examination of the coin reveals no sign of clash marks and it is believed that if the clash marks were present that they would be observable despite the poor condition of the coin. Hopefully, time will reveal a better extant example with no clash marks.

[41] See, the 1787 Miller 52-G.1 and 1788 Miller 16.5-H chain above for visual graph.

[42] Only two 52-G.2 coppers are known. The coins are owned by Richard August and Dr. Mike Xavier Spencer. Mr. August reports that his 52-G.2 weighs 111.1 grains. Dr. Spencer reports that the other extant weighs 67.9 grains. Although Dr. Spencer's coin is in a lower state of preservation than Mr. August's, this alone cannot account for the difference in weight. It is difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions based on the weights of just two coins; however, the huge difference in weights does suggest that something out of the ordinary was going on when these coins were struck. I would like to thank Mr. August and Dr. Spencer for sharing this never before published information on their coins with me.

[43] A possible explanation for why Machin would keep a valuable die on the shelf and not put it to immediate use may have been because he came into sudden possession of better dies from Jarvis and Buell. This theory would say that while in the process of striking the 52-G.2, Machin received delivery of the Jarvis dies. Seeing the superiority of the new dies, Machin removed the 52 die from the press and began striking coppers with the superior Jarvis dies and later Buell dies. A year and a half later, after the Jarvis and Buell dies wore out, Machin recalled that he still had the 52 die and put it into service on the last day. While we will never know the truth, it seems more logical that Machin used the 52 die in 1787 when he first came into possession of it rather than hold it in reserve for use on the last day.

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# THE "NACH AMERIKA" TOKENS OF NUREMBERG – A LITTLE KNOWN, BETTS-RELATED TOKEN FROM THE COLONIAL DAYS

(Robert Levinson)*

## 1. Introduction

C. Wyllys Betts in his famous 1894 book, *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, looked far and wide for examples of American colonial history shown in medals, tokens and even lead seals.[1] His studies led him to not only American produced medals and tokens, but those of Britain, France, Netherlands, The Holy Roman Empire, Scandanavia, Germany and Spain, as well as the American colonies of those European powers. However, he neglected to turn his attention to the City of Nuremberg in South Germany. If he had, he might have discovered some of the most remarkable of the colonial-themed tokens, the "NACH AMERIKA" jetons of the period 1774-1777 by guildmaster Johann Georg Kunstmann. A typical example:

Figure 1. A Typical "NACH AMERIKA" Token

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## 2. The Purpose of Jetons in the Late Middle Ages Through Colonial Times

Jetons (counting tokens) acted as place holders on counting boards or "rechentafel," allowing a counting master or "rechenmeister" to utilize these tokens on the counting board to perform higher mathematics such as multiplication and division, much the same as would a primitive abacus laid flat on its back. Figure 2 illustrates a "rechenmeister" jeton, on which this counting process based. These tokens were manipulated on the counting board and stacked as needed to perform multiplication and division. This complicated technique was developed to provide answers for equations arising from the multiplication and division by Roman numerals – imagine, for example, multiplying XCIII by CCCLXVIII.[2] The use of a counting board and jetons began perhaps as early as in the first part of the 11th century,[3] and lasted up through the period circa 1600-1625.

Figure 2. A "Rechenmeister" Jeton.

Nuremberg was long a center of the brass and metal-working trades, favorably located near South German tin mines, on main travel routes, and with a skilled population of metal workers. Controlling the brass-working trade was the brass-worker "Spengler" guild, and all who worked in brass in Nuremberg had to be admitted to the tightly controlled guild. A major staple of the guildhouses during the Middle Age and Renaissance times was the production of these counting tokens, commonly called today by their French name "jetons."[4]

The Nuremberg Spengler's guild controlled the production of jetons (German name "rechenpfennig" or counting pennies) from 1450 onward, as related by Gebert, "*Die Nurenberger Rechenpfenningschlager*, Munich 1918 (hereinafter "Gebert"). While jetons were made in Nuremberg as early as 1400, little is know about their manufacture or their makers from these earliest periods. From about 1450, Gebert identifies by name the guildmasters working in Nuremberg. In response to an edict from the Guild, which

was concerned that jetons were being produced by non-guild members, all guild members beginning in 1550 were required to identify by initials or full signature the name of their particular guildhouse. The first of these was Iorg Schultes, who even put the title "Spengler" on some of his jetons. See Figure 3, a 1555 dated jeton of Iorg with the title "SPENG.". Thereafter, Nuremberg guildhouses all signed or initialed their products for the next 350 years, up to the early 20th century. Collectors ever since have concentrated on collecting these delightful tokens by the identity of the guildmaster who issued them.[5]

Figure 3. A 1555 Jeton of Iorg Schultes

3. The Transformation of Jetons as Counting Tokens to Gaming Tokens

During the period of time generally from 1600-1625, the need for jetons for counting purposes disappeared as modern mathematics swept through Europe. Why pay a skilled counting master to perform calculations when any properly taught student could perform the same calculations in their head? The guildhouse manufacturers responded to this quantum change by eventually issuing smaller and thinner jetons - thus were born the gaming or "casino chips" of the day, extending their use (albeit as spielmarke or brass gaming tokens) until the early 20th century. Figure 4 shows a typical French style jeton by Lazarus Gottlieb Lauffer, the most prolific of these gaming jeton manufactures. By 1648 Europe was finally at peace, the devastation left by the 30 Years War beginning to heal. France was left victorious and little damaged by the war. It was the right climate for gaming houses, and their need for gaming tokens, to flourish.

Figure 4. French Jeton by Lazarus Gottlieb Lauffer

By the mid-late 17th Century nearly all of the fanciful designs of the earlier jetons had been abandoned, and instead the standard design was the monarch's bust on the obverse with a familiar scene on the reverse, often loosely copied from an official coin or jeton from the target country. The overwhelming number of jetons struck in this time period featured the French monarch, with a lesser number for the English monarch, and then a handful for the Russian Emperor/Empresses, with a tiny scattering for other states.[6] The reason for this concentration is that France was long a unified country, at that time the largest and richest country in Western Europe, with a wealthy leisure class that could afford gambling and gaming houses. In contrast, Germany was a collection of dozens of states of all sizes and powers. Why would an enterprising jeton maker produce jetons featuring the Count of Stolberg, for example, when it would find a much larger clientele in France with one of the Louis' portraits? Also, much of what is today Germany was run by ecclesiastical states, and gaming was probably discouraged. The author is unaware of any gaming tokens with a Bishop's head![7]

4. The Jetons of Johann Georg Kunstmann

With this background, we can examine with interest the jetons of one very small master, the guildhouse of Johann Georg Kunstmann. Kunstmann, who initialed his jetons I.G.K. ("I" for Iohann), was born on July 20, 1734. He was apprenticed to well-known guildmasters Weidinger and Dorn, whose issuance of jetons was plentiful, and became a master on April 19, 1761 at the age of 26. From that point on, he could issue jetons in his own name/initials. The Kunstmann house did not have a long history of issuing jetons. Johann was last cited as an active master in 1777 and died on October 25, 1780.[8] His son, Johann Conrad Kunstmann, was a master only 2-3 years and died in 1783. Both

died leaving only a tiny handful of jeton types. Neither father's nor son's jetons were dated. See generally Mitchiner at p. 539-540.

As was typical of the Nuremberg guildmasters of the 18th Century, Johann Georg Kunstmann mainly issued French-themed jetons. While his period of being a master was during both the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI, he issued only one or two types of Louis XV jetons, two types of Joseph II of the Empire, and approximately 10 types of Louis XVI jetons, who reigned from 1774-1793. However, Kunstmann did issue a very rare series of jetons with the obverse portrait of the Russian Empress, Elizabetha Petrovna, who reigned from 1741-1762.[9] In all, Kunstmann issued perhaps only 16-20 different styles of jetons, often mulling disparate obverses and reverses, a common practice of the guildmasters. If an obverse die broke, it would then be paired with a different reverse die until that broke as well. Die deterioration found in Nuremberg jetons is well-tracked and easy to spot.

5. The "NACH AMERIKA" jetons of Kunstmann

Two of Kunstmann's 16-20 types of known styles are what concern us. The first jeton bears a typical crudely engraved bust of Louis XVI on the obverse, the second, a slightly more elegant bust of Elizabetha of Russia with the legend "ELISA – BATHA".[10] See Figures 5 and 6. On the reverse of both is a sailing ship heading left (west) and is clearly from the same reverse die. Again, this is a very non-descript and very common style used by multiple masters of the time. Both are tiny – 19.5 mm and .97 gr. But what makes these two types very different than any of the tens of thousands of different known Nuremberg jeton types is the reverse legend above the ship – ".NACH . AMERIKA" – "*To America*."

Figure 5. Kunstmann's Louis XVI "NACH . AMERIKA" Jeton

Figure 6. Kunstmann's ELISA – BATHA "NACH . AMERIKA" Jeton

So why was the guildhouse of Kunstmann, on the most prosaic of sailing ship designs, inserting a fantastic legend not duplicated elsewhere by any guildhouse of any other century? "To America" was indeed unique amongst jetons, Nuremberg or otherwise. No contemporary literature exists of the jeton masters, so insight into their designs and practices is speculation. Gebert obtained his information from the guild records and the city birth, death and marriage records. However, one overriding theory comes to mind: German immigration to the US was at its peak in the period 1725-1775. Indeed, one-third of Pennsylvania was comprised of German immigrants during that time.[11] The famous engraver of America's first official coinage, John Reich, was a recent immigrant from Furth, near Nuremberg, who learned engraving from his father, Johann Christian Reich, one of the most prolific jeton makers in all of Germany.[12] So "to the promised land," to "Amerika," was a likely dream and possible goal for many of the enterprising Germans of the later colonial period.

By the use of the Louis XVI bust, we know that these jetons could not have been issued before 1774. Kunstmann died in 1780, and was last reported as a master in 1777. So only a tiny window occurred during which these jetons were produced. While early Nuremberg jetons were often dated, the gaming pieces that followed beginning circa 1625-1650 were almost never dated. So dating of Nuremberg jetons is accomplished more by historical juxtaposition than anything else.

The Elizabetha jetons were likely all struck after her death in 1762, as Kunstmann became a master first in 1761. Only four guildmasters in all produced Russian-themed jetons, and it would have been a strange product for a new master to begin with. It seems much more likely that Kunstmann was copying the Elizabetha design from another guildhouse and paid no attention to her death the previous decade.[13] The tiny number of

Elizabetha jetons with the Nach Amerika legend indicates a limited customer base, hence a short period of production. That would be expected for a jeton of a past monarch when the new one had already taken the throne.[14]

How rare are these jetons? Kunstmann jetons in general are all very scarce to extremely rare. Mitchiner lists only three Kunstmann types, and a fourth is incorrectly attributed to Kunstmann. Feuardent, the standard catalogue for French jetons,[15] lists none. Gebert references only one piece, but Gebert did not try to catalogue known pieces. Benjamin Fauver, a fervent collector of jetons, in his book, *Nuremberg and Nuremberg Style Jetons,*[16] listed five obverse dies and eight reverse dies, but did not specify which were paired with which. The Elizabetha NACH AMERIKA piece was listed ("Very rare"), but not the Louis XVI piece. A thorough and excellent manuscript of Russian-themed Nuremberg jetons will shortly be published by the Russian author Igor Rudenko, and the NACH AMERIKA jeton of Elizabetha has but one die listed. That manuscript reveals that three other guildmasters issued almost identical Elizabetha portraits, but those three used ordinary reverse designs.[17] In total, it appears that perhaps only 12-15 pieces of both NACH AMERIKA types are currently extant.[18]

So what did the German legend "Nach Amerika" have to do with the French King and Russian Empress? Nothing, really. Jeton manufacture was a commercial enterprise and the goal was to sell one's wares.[19] Kunstmann, as with all Nuremberg jeton manufacturers, was selling into competitive markets. The French market required a French monarch's portrait to be an attractive purchase, the Russian market required an Emperor or Empress, etc. The reverse design on gaming jetons was pretty much the "frosting on the cake." Often the legends would state only the manufacture's name and the words "RECHENPFENNNG." So Kunstmann, as with all masters, likely felt fairly free to use what reverse designs fancied him at the time. The ship design was exceedingly common and would not have caused a moment's pause. The "NACH AMERIKA" legend, on the other hand, was a unique statement of hope or promise unlike one ever found on another token or medal of its day.

## ENDNOTES

1 See for example Betts 112, a lead seal of the Company of the Indies.

2 This technique is described in detail in Barnard, F.P.: *The Casting-Counter and the Counting Board*, Oxford 1917 (reprinted Oxford 1981) (hereinafter "Barnard"), still the finest reference on the manual counting technique and on jetons in general.

3 Berry, G.: *Medieval English Jetons*, London 1974, at p. 11.

4 From the French word "jetez" or to push, i.e., push across a counting board.

5 The best general reference for this 350 year period is Mitchiner, M.: *Jetons, Medalets & Tokens: The Medieval Period and Nuremberg*, Vol. 1, London 1988 (hereinafter "Mitchiner"). While not nearly as thorough or careful as Stalzer, and with some glaring errors (confusing Iorg Schultes with Georg Schultes, for example), Mitchiner is the only work which chronologically covers the Nuremberg jetons and the guildmasters from the earliest days circa 1450 to the end of the spielmarke period circa 1900.

[6] The author in his collection has examples of these lesser-used Nuremberg gaming tokens with rulers or nobility of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, various German states, the Empire and Portugal.

[7] Although jetons struck for counting purposes would often use religious themes. Jetons featuring the bust of the Bishop of Würzburg were a common theme circa 1450.

[8] See Mitchiner at p.539.

[9] Kunstmann also issued a Joseph II of Austria jeton. Joseph became a ruler in 1765. This is another indication that despite being a master from 1761, Kunstmann probably did not start issuing jetons until several years later.

[10] Upon closer examination, the BATHA of "ELISABATHA" appears first to be engraver as CATHA, and the ELISA is engraved over another legend, perhaps RINE of CATHA-RINE. Perhaps this was a mis-engraving for Catherine II, known as Catherine the Great (1762-1796). Catherine the Great jetons are known from several different Nuremberg guildmasters. However, the bust on all faces right, and the bust on all Elizabetha jetons (three different guildmasters) faces left. Also, the bust on all of the Elizabetha Nuremberg jetons match, despite the different guildhouses who struck them. The other guildhouses (Johann Jacob Dietzel and Magnus Gottlieb Jordan) had the same BETHA legend on the left without overstriking. Thus, a fascinating re-engraving appears to be but a coincidental mistake. It is perhaps best explained by Kunstmann wanting to copy the pre-existing Elizabetha jetons from the other guildhouses and first placing the name of the current monarch, Catherine, on the jeton, then re-engraving the legend in order to make the name fit the correct bust.

[11] Ralph Wood, ed., *The Pennsylvania Germans*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. See generally, Wikipedia, *German American Immigration to the US.*

[12] The senior Reich even issued Catherine the Great jetons from his busy workshop.

[13] The Nuremberg jeton masters were "serial" copycats, and it would be a rare design that was not widely copied by others. No copyright laws existed at that time.

[14] Theoretically, Kunstmann could have engraved the Elizabetha jetons during the short span between his achievement of master status and her death a year later. That appears highly unlikely, though. That would have required him to then leave the reverse die unused between 1762 and 1774, and then use it again when Louis ascended the throne. A tiny guildhouse such as Kunstmann's could not afford to let a perfectly good die sit and rust for 10 years. As stated earlier, it is more likely that he copied an earlier Elizabetha bust from another jeton manufacturer, began to engrave Catherine, the current monarch's name on the legend, and re-engraved it when the mistake was realized.

[15] Collection Feuardent, Jetons et Méreaux depuis Louis IX jusqu'a la Fin du Consulat de Bonaparte (3 vols.) London 1904, reprinted by Maison Platt, Paris.

[16] Oak Park Press, Menlo Park 2002.

[17] Indeed, the Elizabetha design by Kunstmann was muled with a reverse die of the Tree of Life.

[18] The author has three Louis XVI NACH AMERIKA and one Elizabetha one in his collection, and an advanced Dutch collector has three more. These are the largest known collections of these rare pieces.

[19] The most prolific of all jeton manufacturers, Hans Krauwinckel II (1586-1635) even issued a jeton whose reverse legend was "IN FRANCKREICH VND AUCH IN NIDERLONT" "[Offices] in France and in the Netherlands."

# 2012 – SECOND QUARTER COLONIAL AUCTION RECAP

(Michael Wierzba)

This is the second installment of the quarterly colonial auction recap for the C4 *Newsletter*. I like this idea a lot as it lets some members who may not be able to attend all the auctions get a good idea what is going on with colonial prices at a given time plus allows us to point out some of the highs (and lows) of the colonial coin market in general. For this quarter, there were two auctions held by Heritage as well as one by Stack's Bowers, that included some very nice colonial types and die varieties.

**Heritage Central States Signature and Platinum Night Auctions**

Heritage always does a wonderful job putting on auctions, and this auction was no different. There were some very nice colonials spread out during the two auction events including the following:

• Lot 3004. 1652 MA Pine Tree Shilling Noe 16 PCGS AU50. When I first viewed this coin online I liked the look of it a lot. After taking a closer look, I noticed a very large scratch on the obverse that curved through the tree and frankly was quite distracting. It sold for $6,900, far lower than normally realized prices for comparably graded coins.

• Lot 3006. (1694) London Elephant Token Thick Planchet PCGS MS63BN. Unlike lot 3004, this piece was absolutely perfect, with beautiful color and surfaces and no problems to be noted. I liked it a lot, but my bid was blown out of the water as it went on to finish at $6,900.

• Lot 8024. 1786 New Jersey Maris 15-T PCGS VF35. Not every nice coin has a strong price attached to it. This piece was a very pleasing example of a R-4 NJ copper variety. It had a few light flaws on the obverse, but overall it was a perfect type example for the collector. I thought it brought a very fair price of $632. It is my impression that collector grade coins are at very attractive prices right now, and that trend will end as soon as there are just a small handful of new collectors adding to their collections.

• Lot 8025. 1787 New Jersey Maris 48-g Boldly Double Struck. This was another coin that was underappreciated in this auction. Boldly double struck NJs are very scarce and while this coin was not perfect, the double strike was striking (no pun intended) and the details were very sharp. It sold for a very fair $805, and was subsequently sold on eBay shortly after for a significantly stronger price. (I must admit, I saw this piece before the auction, just forgot to put our bid in for it during the internet session…oh well.)

• Following the state coppers, there was a nice run of higher-grade Fugio types, all of which remain strong with spirited bidding on each lot. Bank of New York UNC-

graded pieces continue to be hot with prices in the mid four figures, and a quite nice 8-Pointed Star Newman 15-Y was also hotly contested.

• Lot 3034. (1799) Washington Funeral Medal Silver PCGS AU58. This is a coin I really liked when I saw it. It is hard to find high grade Funeral Medals, and I feel these medals are extremely undervalued based on their history and rarity. This example was quite nice, showing original toned surfaces and no major issues. It sold for $6,900, a price that sounds fair to us looking back.

**Heritage June Long Beach Auction**

In June, Heritage once again hosted the Long Beach Expo auction. There were some very nice colonials spread throughout the auction ranging from $38 (an ANACS G6 graded Hibernia) to $14,950 (A Libertas Americana Medal NGC MS61BN). Included below are some highlights:

• Lots 3006 & 3007. 1773 Virginia Halfpennies. NGC MS64RB and PCGS MS64RD. These were both very nice examples of this popular coinage. The reason I am pointing these two out is for their price differentials. The Red Brown graded example sold for $1,380 while the Red example sold for $2,300. It is important to note that not many colonial coins get the grading service distinction of RD. As such, when they come to auction, there is quite a strong premium for the RD grade versus the RB grade.

• Lot 3010. 1787 Connecticut Miller 1.2-C The Muttonhead NGC VF35. This was a very nice example of this popular Red Book type. The color and surfaces were very nice and there was quite a bit of detail on this late die state specimen. It brought a fair $2,127.

• Lot 3014. 1788 Connecticut Miller 11-G Reverse Brockage NGC VF25. A very cool brockage that had the benefit of being very choice (although a bit weak on the brockage side). It brought $2,415, showing there is a lot of interest still in colonial errors, emphasized by the following lot (3015), another Miller 11-G, very choice and graded AU55 by PCGS, seemingly selling for a bargain at $1,840.

• Lot 3019. 1787 New Jersey Maris 54-k The Serpent Head PCGS VF25. This was a fairly attractive, though a bit dark example of this popular type. The obverse legends were strong, not always the case for this variety. I thought this was a very good buy for the lucky winner (no, we were not the buyers!). I think it would be impossible to find a comparable example for the $1,063 that this one brought. A nice buy!

• Lot 3022. 1783 Nova Constellatio Crosby 2-B NGC AU58* CAC. A very attractive example with great color and surfaces brought $3,737.50. Great looking high end type coins are quite healthy and strong.

**Stacks-Bowers June Baltimore Expo Auction**

This auction offered a nice selection of collector grade colonial coins and some nice group lots of British and Irish counterfeits from the Mike Ringo collection. This auction also marked the first time that Stacks Bowers has implemented the new 17.5% buyers fee for all invoices under $50,000. This did cause a lot of conversation during the show, but unfortunately this looks like it will be the standard in our hobby now as Heritage has also made the change. I just returned from this show the day before the deadline to get this article in this issue of the *Newsletter*, so these coins are quite fresh in my mind:

- Lot 1015. St. Patrick's Farthing PCGS VG10. This was a very choice example that was undergraded by PCGS in my opinion. It had excellent surface quality and eye appeal. Others in the room saw this as well, but it still sold for a very reasonable $2,250. St. Patrick's coinage continues to be sought after by specialists, especially when found with smooth surfaces and no problems.

- Lot 1049. 1779 Rhode Island Ship Token PCGS MS63. A very high grade and attractive example of this popular colonial type. This piece saw very active bidding, finally closing for $11,750 all in. R.I. Ship Tokens are very popular right now, but a few that have come up to market have been badly repaired or tooled, causing what seems like a large spread between sale prices of similar coins. True choice examples with no problems have continued to bring very strong money.

- Lot 1068. 1787 Massachusetts Cent 2b-A The Horned Eagle PCGS AU55. A very high grade and attractive example with a fantastic look and very little wear. I thought it was undergraded as did many others. It sold for $4,925 hammer.

- A large selection of Connecticut coppers followed with some nice mid-grade varieties selling in the $150-$450 range. These pieces included nice examples for the die variety collector to fill in some holes without breaking the bank.

- Lot 1122. 1786 New Jersey Maris 16-L The Protruding Tongue PCGS AU55. This was a very surprising coin to me, as my grade was VF25 and I thought it was cleaned long ago, leaving the distinctive orange cleaning residue in the legends. The grade given to this by PCGS proves that nobody is perfect when it hammered for $1,200. A true AU with mint luster could reach 10 times that number!

- Lot 1152. 1787 Vermont RR-15 PCGS AG3. This was actually a very nice coin for the grade. I thought this piece would attract a lot of attention not only because it was one of only two PCGS graded examples of this major Red Book type, but also because of how many collectors are missing this variety. This piece offered the perfect opportunity to get one that would not cost multiple five figures. It went right at my pre-sale estimate of $7,500 hammer.

• Lot 1203. (Ca. 1793) Washington Success Token Fully Silvered PCGS MS62 CAC. A beautiful example of a fully silvered Washington Success Token. I expected strong bidding on this one and was not surprised at all to see it sell for $8,812 all in.

• The sale finished up with a large offering of group lots filled with counterfeits from the estate of Mike Ringo. I thought they would be popular with the collectors and there was a lot of action on the lots, with most of them going to well known students in the counterfeit series.

The second quarter of 2012 brought some great coins to auction. A few things are very obvious. First and foremost, condition and choiceness is a huge factor in the final sale prices for colonials these days. A choice VF of any given coin is selling for many multiples more than an example with problems of the same type. I expect this trend to continue (and even go higher) in the foreseeable future. A second observation is that collectors are coming back strong after some leaner years and prices seem to be on an upward trend, a very good sign for the colonial coin market and the coin market in general. The next major coin show will be the ANA convention held in Philadelphia. I expect this to a blockbuster event and we hope to see you all there in August.

In accordance with our by-laws, those who have recently joined C4 as provisional members are listed below. If any current C4 member in good standing has a reason any of the following should be denied membership in C4, please contact either your Regional VP or the President of the Club, Jim Rosen. The new provisional members, with their home states, are :

C4 - New Members for publishing in C4N V.20#2 Summer 2012

| | |
|---|---|
| Eugene Andrews - NJ | Don Kabel - Alberta, Canada |
| Russell Easterbrooks - VA | Nyle Monday - CA |
| Larry Gaye - OR | Steve Norris - IN |
| Edmund Goldshinsky - CT | Young Park - RI |
| Bill Houck -VA | |

# AN UNUSUAL, THOUGHT-PROVOKING FIND IN KEESEVILLE, NY – 2008

(Norman G. Peters)

During the summer of 2008 there had been frequent rainy days and a Keeseville bean farmer found one of his fields frequently under water. To alleviate the problem he began digging a drainage ditch, but was soon interrupted by yet another rainy afternoon. When he and his son returned the following day they discovered much of the soil excavated the previous day had washed back into the ditch. They also noticed that many of the now-loose field stones had been washed clean of the soil and that many strange brown disks were littering the ditch banks. Upon closer examination they determined the disks to be coins! They spent the next several hours scouring the ditch banks hoping to find a treasure – that day they located a total of forty-one coins.

The following day they returned with a friend who owned a metal detector. With his help they were able to locate several more coins. The total located at the site was fifty-six pieces. All were located within a six foot area of the ditch and must have come from one source, perhaps a lost purse or small cache. The group consisted of the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| One | 1785 Vermont copper (RR-2) |
| One | 1785 Nova Constellatio (Crosby 2-A) |
| Two | British George II Halfpenny pieces (no dates visible) |
| Five | 1775 British halfpenny pieces (probably lightweight counterfeits) |
| One | 1771 British halfpenny |
| Nine | 1749 British farthings |
| Thirty-one | 1749 British halfpenny pieces. |
| Two | 1781 Irish halfpenny pieces. |
| Four | Unknown, badly corroded pieces |

The hoard was sold to a Syracuse, NY antique dealer who later resold it to a collector. Last year it reappeared at the Lakeland, FL "Collectorama." The then owner showed them to me. I was able to purchase the Vermont and Nova Constellatio pieces but he declined to sell the others . . . I am at a loss to explain why.

The inordinate number of 1749-dated pieces awoke a memory of reading about 1749-dated British coppers. Upon returning to Lancaster, NY from my Florida winter home, I began searching for the source of my memory. It was soon located – Crosby's "Early Coins of America," pp. 225-28.

There Crosby discussed payment by Great Britain to Massachusetts Bay Colony for services of the militia in putting down the uprising at Cape Breton. The Crown sent 217 chests of milled silver coins consisting of 650,000 ounces and 100 casks weighing 10

tons of coppers, purchased from the royal mint in 1749. These coppers must have been from those casks.

The coppers were probably lost or buried around 1790. They show the ravages of burial for some 220 years; some have semi-circles where one lay atop another. The 1749 halfpennies are the best looking as they were probably in excellent condition when they entered the ground.

Keeseville, NY is located just west of Port Kent on Lake Champlain; a ferry was in operation, weather permitting, between Port Kent and Vermont in the 1790's. This could explain the Vermont piece and probably the Nova, but how did so many 1749 British coppers, probably from Massachusetts, come to be together for some 40 years before being lost or buried for safe keeping? These mysteries are part of the reason why numismatics is so interesting and rewarding. This brings up another question – what exactly were the milled silver coins weighing 650,000 ounces that were delivered in 217 chests?

The Vermont and Nova from this hoard are pictured below:

VERMONT
RR-2

NOVA
CONSTELLATIO

# NEW JERSEY COPPER POSSIBLY OVERSTRUCK ON A FRENCH ONE SOL OF JOHN LAW

**[With a brief history of this interesting individual.]**

(John Lorenzo)

**Introduction.** This article presents the results of an XRF study for a Maris 56-n New Jersey purchased by Frank Jozapaitis at a Baltimore Coin Show early in 2012. Due to its weight (173.5 grains), it is an important overstrike in the NJ series and should be investigated. The purpose of this study was to perform the following:

1. Confirm the piece was not cast and determine its exact alloy composition.

2. Compare composition differences between this M.56-n and struck NJ Coppers from the three known New Jersey mints (Rahway, Elizabethtown, and Morristown) as well as to an uncertain mint from the classification scheme proposed by Michael Hodder.

3. Compare the metrology of 56-n, with a weight of 173.5 grains and a thickness of 2.26 mm, to a John Law 1 Sol coin to determine if such a coin could be the host coin.

The analysis was done with a Spectro Midex XRF Analyzer. Due to the value of these coins, no pretreatment of the coins was performed, which explains the composition metal values not equaling 100% as well as the fact that some coins had traces of iron on the surface which may or may not be from the coin's alloy content.

**X-ray fluorescence (XRF).** X-ray fluorescence (XRF) is the emission of characteristic "secondary" (or fluorescent) X-rays from a material that has been excited by bombarding it with high-energy X-rays or gamma rays. The phenomenon is widely used for elemental and chemical analyses, particularly in the investigation of metals, glass, ceramics and building materials, and for research in geochemistry, forensic science and archaeology.

**Results of the analysis.** The results of my analysis are provided in the following table. This coin is important in the New Jersey series as it's one of the heaviest reported New Jersey coppers known to the writer and possibly the heaviest known with an undertype. It is exceeded by a Maris 68-w, which weighs over 200 grains but is struck on a slug type planchet and by the Scherff coin (lot 2232) at 187.4 grains; however, neither of these specimens show any apparent undertype. The thickness of this coin at 2.26 mm also matches very closely to the general thickness of the Collots imported into the Colonies during this period, but these pieces have engrailed edges. The John Law 1 Sol issues do not, and hence are a better undertype candidate. Future

investigative work is required to decipher composition and metrology characteristics that could positively establish the 1 Sol as the undertype of this Maris 56-n.

**John Law Coinage – A Brief History.** John Law was a Scot. He was born in Edinburgh in 1671, the son of a successful banker and goldsmith. At 14 he was apprenticed into these trades, and he re-emerged at 17 just in time to inherit from his father, who died that same year. He was by then already known for his rare mathematical talents and for his popularity with the ladies.

Enriched by the family estate, he set off for London where he added gambling to his abilities. He won regularly, and earned a mixture of respect and jealousy that typically follow a man who succeeds both at the gaming tables and in the bedroom.

Unfortunately, his habits carried unsuspected hidden risks. London was in those days a place where a lady's virtue was worth dying for (this was very long ago) and when Law was challenged to a duel he accepted and shot his challenger dead. Although originally sentenced to hang, he was given a little friendly assistance in escaping during the appeals process and, because London had become a dangerous place for him, he set off for Europe.

For some years he made his living off his wits. He was a high-roller, and this way of life brought him into regular contact with the Duc d'Orleans, who also enjoyed gambling. Yet, surprisingly for a gambler, there were signs of Law believing in a higher purpose. He had without much notice published serious pieces on economics, and had been very interested in the financing of trade, which he had learned about in Amsterdam. The Duc thought highly enough of him to listen to Law's views on trade and finance.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV of France died, and after being revered throughout his life he was soon to be remembered with some bitterness for the size of the national debt he left to his heir. Young Louis XV was only seven when his father died, and it was the Duc d'Orleans who was appointed Regent. His immediate problem was the 3 *billion* livres borrowed by the dead king.

The Duc debased France's coinage by 20%, which simply drove the old coins out of circulation and created a frenzy of economic activity as people sought out sound assets to buy with their store of the new money. Then the state decided to offer rewards to informants against hoarders of the old coins, and the guilty were packed into the Bastille.

As things deteriorated, Law arrived on the Duc's doorstep in Paris. He proposed that he be given management of the royal revenues with the right to issue paper money through a bank to be placed in his ownership. The paper would be secured by a combination of the royal revenues and land; an idea he had proposed in his economic papers many years earlier.

On the May 5, 1716 Law's bank was created. Its notes would thereafter be used in payment of taxes. Its capital was purchased 25% in coin and 75% in state bills at face

value (at that time trading at a heavy discount). By guaranteeing his paper money with the coin in issue at the time of a bill's creation he quickly found his paper was preferred over coinage, which had recently been debased once and was expected to be debased further. In this way he collected most of the country's stock of precious metal. By the end of the year his bank notes were worth 15% more than equivalent coinage while the state's debts were trading nearly 80% below nominal.

He hadn't finished. His next plan was to leverage the optimism of France's possessions in North America. He persuaded the Duc to grant him an outright monopoly on France's Mississippi trade. Having got control of the coinage, paper money and tax collection, he now also had exclusive power over France's great hope – trade with the New World. He raised the capital in typical style, selling the stock for a fantastic price payable in those deeply discounted state bills which no-one could wait to get rid of.

As summarized by Charles Mackay in 1841:

> It was now that the frenzy of speculating began to seize upon the nation. Law's bank had affected so much good, that any promises for the future which he thought proper to make were readily believed. The Regent every day conferred new privileges upon the fortunate projector. The bank obtained the monopoly of the sale of tobacco; the sole right of refinance of gold and silver, and was finally erected into the Royal Bank of France. Amid the intoxication of success, both Law and the Regent forgot the maxim so loudly proclaimed by the former, that a banker deserved death who made issues of paper without the necessary funds to provide for them. As soon as the bank, from a private, became a public institution, the Regent caused a fabrication of notes to the amount of one thousand millions of livres. This was the first departure from sound principles, and one for which Law is not justly blamable.

Before long the monopoly rights to trade with the east were also granted to the company, and in a succession of stock issues, each at higher prices than the previous one, found a public willing to fight for the right to surrender its increasingly valueless state bills for Law's bank notes and the mushrooming "Mississippi script."

The beast had developed a momentum all its own. Paris was booming. Luxury goods were sold out as soon as they went in the shops. Gardens near Law's bank had turned into a tented city that functioned as an impromptu stock exchange. Real estate values and rents soared while the stock just rose and rose until even the speculators' own coachmen became magnates.

The Duc concluded that what was clearly so healthy in that particular quantity could hardly fail to be twice as healthy given twice as much. And what with the extra trade and the sheer difficulty of supplying sufficient cash to keep pace with the frenzied exchange of company stock he took to arranging further issues of bank paper over the head of Law, who probably knew better, but may have suspended rigorous banking

discipline under the widespread acclaim of his financial ingenuity. Besides, blocking it would have annoyed his boss.

It was at about this time that the Prince de Conti arrived, intending to buy as much Mississippi stock as he could lay his hands on. He was outraged at being denied his full allocation, and as a result sent three wagons to Law's bank to demand the immediate settlement, in coin, of his entire stock of Law's paper money.

The Prince was paid, but was also instructed at risk of the extreme displeasure of the Duc, an unwise thing to provoke, to return two of the wagons immediately. He complied. But it was enough to make the smarter operators see the light.

The professionals started to cash in their paper, in small amounts at first. Coin, bullion, jewels and anything of transportable value were surreptitiously shipped abroad, primarily to Belgium, Holland and England. Soon it became necessary to compel by decree the premium which notes had before commanded over coin. Parliament declared that from then on coin would by law carry only 95% of the value of paper. The decree was just words.

Law had no choice but to throw the last major dice of his banking career. Gambling his remaining authority, he abolished coin as a medium of exchange, and then in February 1720 declared it illegal to own more than the tiniest sums in gold in any form. Then he closed the borders, and sent instructions to all coach-houses to refuse fresh horses to anyone travelling to foreign lands until an inspector had examined their baggage. The substantial fines imposed on those found with hard assets were shared with the public-spirited individual who filed the report.

By August of that year it was all over, and John Law was the most hated man in France. Fortunately for him, he had relocated to Venice. Like the gambler he was, he had gone on to the next game, by which means he continued his existence for another 9 years.

## XRF Analysis Sheet

| COIN | Metal | | | | | | | | | | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Copper % | Lead % | Silver % | Zinc % | Nickel % | Iron % | Bismuth % | Tungsten % | Tin % | Antimony % | |
| 1. NJ Maris 56-n | 99.6 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.14 | ND | 0.06 | ND | ND | See Note (2). Obv/Rev. reads |
| 173.5 grains, 2.26 mm | 97.8 | ND | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.1 | ND | 0.05 | ND | ND | Late Rahway/Elizabethtown |
| thick; 28.8 mm diam. | | | | | | | | | | | Subject Coin |
| 2. NJ Maris 56-n | 99.2 | 0.3 | 0.11 | 0.03 | 0.23 | 0.03 | ND | ND | ND | 0.05 | Indium = 0.05% |
| 103.3 grains | | | | | | | | | | | Late Rahway/Elizabethtown |
| Comparison Coin | | | | | | | | | | | See Note (3) |
| 3. NJ Maris 46-e | 99.6 | 0.11 | 0.09 | ND | 0.09 | ND | 0.009 | ND | ND | 0.03 | Arsenic = 0.25% |
| | | | | | | | | | | | Rahway Mint |
| 4. NJ Maris 72-z | 98.4 | 0.6 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.11 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.37 | 0.08 | Arsenic = 0.32% |
| S. Tannenbaum | | | | | | | | | | | Uncertain Mint |
| Collection | | | | | | | | | | | See Note (4) |
| 5. NJ Maris 65-u | 98.7 | 0.32 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.14 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0.07 | 0.19 | Arsenic = 0.27 |
| Ex. Hiram Deats | | | | | | | | | | | Indium = 0.03% |
| Morristown Mint | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. NJ Maris 67-v | 99.2 | ND | 0.14 | 0.3 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.004 | 0.07 | ND | 0.07 | Arsenic = 0.41 |
| Morristown Mint | | | | | | | | | | | Indium = 0.41 |
| 7. NJ Maris 43-d | 99.1 | 0.67 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.11 | 0.02 | 0.08 | Rahway Mint |
| 8. 1720 John Law 1 SOL | 98.44 | 0.32 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.28 | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.16 | ND | 0.18 | See note (5). Obv/Rev. reads |
| Paul Cartmill Example | 96.8 | 0.2 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.23 | 0.1 | 0.05 | 0.16 | ND | 0.19 | 172.5 grains, 2.26 mm thick, |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 28.85 mm in diameter |
| 9. John Law 1 SOL | 99.16 | 0.3 | 0.27 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.1 | 0.007 | 0.08 | ND | ND | See note (5) |
| John Lorenzo Example | | | | | | | | | | | 172.7 grains, 2.24 mm thick, |
| 1720-S | | | | | | | | | | | 28.83 mm in diameter |

**Notes:**

1. ND = None Detected

2. Due to their rarity, no pre-cleaning was done, which may explain the results not totaling 100%. The copper alloy surface is not always uniform. The XRF analysis measures the top 10 um on the coin's surface. However, this coin did not have a coin ring and the lead content was not determined (ND) on trial 1 and 0.03% on trial 2 for XRF spot analysis it's confirmed that its struck. All lettering is sharp and the analytical results were all consistent with the coins in this study being from the various mints as proposed by Michael Hodder.
The metrology of this coin fits nicely to a French 1 Sol or the 1767 12 Denier which weighs around 180 grains. The 12 Denier coin was recalled to Paris and countermarked RF and de-valued to 9 Deniers (called a Collot). On the examination of (12) Collots, the average thickness was 2.36 mm and weight was 180.2 grains. The thickness of this coin is almost exactly that of a Collot. A 2 Sol is out of the questions as it weighs about 385 grains. However, these Collots are problematic in that they have engrailed edges and the host coin had no engrailed edging.

3. Indium is usually a by-product of zinc manufacturing but is also found in iron, lead or copper ores. With silver coins, seeing trace gold and indium in particular ratios is an indicator of good regal silver. The presence of indium is not a critical factor with old copper alloys in terms of authenticity. It's being reported here for completeness only.

4. Another reevaluation may be in the "Uncertain Mint" classification. As I have mentioned recently, determining origin with simply XRF results alone can not be done. We can, however, be given certain clues to then use more sophisticated equipment to possibly determine origin as some future date (for example using EBSD/SEM type dual analysis).

5. The 1767 One Sol mentioned in note (2) above was the proper denomination, place of origin, thickness and diameter but the weight was off by 8 grains; additionally, the edge is engrailed. The John Law 1 Sol was a much better candidate with the weight, diameter and thickness being all virtually exact. The other main point which virtually confirms the John Law 1 Sol as the undertype as these pieces, unlike the Collots are plain edge whereas the Collots have engrailed edges.

6. Some researchers feel the elements Titanium and Iron need to be used with caution as they are considered to be probable earth oxides that find their way to coin's surfaces.

7. Note the very low bismuth values. Normally Pary's mine copper would never have bismuth values this low. Cornish copper like Swedish copper has bismuth values this low. The writer is currently investigating if there are any considtent differences between Swedish copper and Cornish copper.

# ANA's Summer Seminar – June 23 to 29, 2012

(Ray Williams)

This was my first year attending the Summer Seminar at the ANA in Colorado Springs. I'm fortunate to have a wife that gave me the week and transportation as a birthday gift (much better than socks and ties!). And it started out as a nightmare at the Philadelphia Airport. Due to bad weather the night before, I had to take another flight on Sunday. One of our instructors had the same issue.

But on Sunday I arrived just in time to go with my baggage directly from the airport to the classroom. Our instructors for the Colonial Americana course were John Kraljevich and Erik Goldstein, both C4 members. John is a cataloger, researcher, author and dealer. Erik is Curator of Mechanical Arts (weapons) and Numismatics at Colonial Williamsburg. Both are excellent instructors!

I traveled to the Seminar thinking I had a fair knowledge of colonial numismatics and of colonial history, as it pertains to numismatics. I was quickly proven wrong! Our instructors are like walking encyclopedias, presenting information in an entertaining, easy to understand, and sometimes humorous manner. It was fun and educational at the same time!

The topic of the Colonial Americana Seminar was about colonial numismatics not found in the Red Book. Whitman Publications donated a copy of the Red Book to each instructor and attendee, which was appreciated. I had Ken Bressett sign my copy, as he ducked into our classroom and sat next to me on a number of occasions.

The evenings were occupied by speakers at "Bull Sessions" and other special educational events for which you could sign up. Some of the field trips had to be cancelled because of the terrible fire outside of Colorado Springs. Many houses were lost and thousands had to be evacuated, including the Air Force Academy. But that didn't deter us from having fun! There were a couple of foxes I saw on the campus, by foxes I mean the little red animals!!! And there were hummingbirds. There were no lightning bugs! I did manage to have dinner one night with a local friend and former C4 VP for Region 5, Tim Martin, his daughter Chloe, son in law and granddaughter. I highly recommend the German food we enjoyed at Edelweiss ( www.edelweissrest.com ).

John and Erik did an excellent job as our instructors, encouraging participation and keeping us entertained for 6 hours a day. My brain is still hurting a little form all the information they shared. I also came home having met a few C4 members for the first time, with a check for a new member, and having given out several applications which I expect our C4 Treasurer will receive soon. I hope to attend this event again as the topic for the colonial class changes each year. I highly recommend attending to all, regardless how much you think you know.

John Kraljevich (left) and Erik Goldstein (right) instructing the Colonial Americana Class

The Colorado Springs fire behind the college cafeteria

# AMERICA'S FOREIGN COINS

(Dick August)

I have long been interested in the foreign coins used in America. Obviously the excavated coins found in American soil prove something. Here is a list of some of the coins found in the Hartford, Conneticut area by a friend over the last 50 years.

England :

Charles I shilling
Charles II shilling
James II tin ½ penny 1687...quite a rare coin
William and Mary ½ penny 1694
William ½ penny 1699; another ½ penny no date
George I shilling 1723
Queen Anne shilling 1711
George I ½ penny 1724
George II ½ penny 1740 (two), dateless ½ penny (two), 1735 ½ penny
George III ½ penny 1774

Spanish empire:

1733 MX Mexico ½ real, holed, bent and with two broken shanks indicating it was most likely made into a button...an extremely rare coin!!!!!
1801 ½ real
1804 Mexico ½ real
1779 Mexico ½ real
1780 Mexico 1 real
1782 Mexico 1 real
1784 Mexico 1 real
1800 Chile 2 real, a much scarcer mint

Ireland:

George II or III ½ penny

France:

Louis XIII Liard no date (1640s)
1774 Liard

Colonial America:

1787 Fugio
1787 Connecticut, another

Here are a few conclusions I reach:

1. Mostly copper was circulated and lost.
2. A wide variety of English silver circulated.
3. Spanish empire coins were the most used and lost silver minors.
4. People who believe that if a coin is rare, it couldn't have come to the American colonies ARE WRONG. I've never seen the 1733 Mexico ½ real in 50 years of collecting -- yet here it is, found in the ground. Also, the find of the Chile 2R proves this point, but to a lesser degree.

I hope more C4 members get interested in collecting America's foreign coins.

# Honorials and Memorials Funds Established

The Board of Directors has established Honorial and Memorial Funds into which money can be donated from members and non-members of C4 in memory of an individual or in honor of an occasion. Currently, there are two funds into which one can donate. The current funds are the "Educational Fund" and the "Library Fund." The distribution of money from these Funds will be done by a committee made up of Jim Rosen, President, Jack Howes, National Vice President and Buell Ish, Region 7 Vice President.

We would ask that individuals who want to donate money in memory of an individual or to honor an individual or an occasion (excluding weddings and birthdays and anniversaries), fill out the attached form, paying particular attention to the fields that are stared. Send the filled out form to the C4 Treasurer. Your donation will be acknowledged by a personal letter and also in the *Newsletter* unless you want your donation kept anonymous. In addition, the person or family to whom you are making your donation in memory of or in honor of will receive a letter notifying them of the donation. As we are a "Non- Profit" organization, your donation is tax deductible (but always consult your tax advisor regarding this).

We sincerely hope that this venue will keep the memories of our dear friends alive and let us honor our friends and occasions.

Jim Rosen, President, C4.

----------Cut ----------

## FUND CONTRIBUTION FORM

Educational Fund  Library Fund

Donation to *_____Fund  Contribution Amount *$_____
By or Can be anonymous *_____ Phone _____
Address of Donor* _____City*_____
State* _____Zip*_____

Please Circle One:  IN HONOR OF  IN MEMORY OF

(Name) _____

Notify *_____
Address*_____City*_____
ST*____Zip*_____

Send check and form to: Charlie Rohrer  C4 Treasurer  P.O. Box 25  Mountville, PA 17554

# IN MEMORIUM – DON ANDERSON

(William Gleckler)

"We have lost another real coin collector." This was the sentiment that one of our longtime local coin dealers had when I told him of the passing of my dear friend and mentor, Don Anderson. Or Donald E.E. Anderson as he liked to tell anyone who it mattered to. He was proud of his Swedish Heritage, and his dual middle names, honoring his parents Ewald Anderson and Lillian Ellquist Anderson. Most of Don's contemporaries may remember him by his gruff and abrupt call as he would pass a dealer on the bourse floor "Do you have any copper!!?" as he made his way through the aisles with the use of his canes, needed since childhood in Connecticut, when he was struck by a car while stepping off a curb at the age of 4 years. As a result of the accident Don lost several inches in the length of his left leg, but his 6'4" frame was still quite imposing. Don made his living as a very successful Insurance executive, financial planner, and numismatic consultant, specializing in estate appraisals.

Don was a colorful guy with many interests. He was a long time member of the Shriners. He was a member of many numismatic organizations, including, but not limited to the EAC, C4, ANS, and ANA. At one point he quietly accumulated an important large cent collection. He was my mentor and guided me in my areas of interest (Colonial coins). His vast knowledge of early copper coinage has been an essential part of my development as a collector of colonial coinage. Don was a humble man when it came to relating the experiences of July 6, 1944. As a young boy of 13 years, Don was in attendance at one of the most tragic events in his state's history, known as "The Day the Clowns Cried," the Hartford Circus fire, to this day the greatest American circus tragedy. The following is taken from http://wheelerclown.tripod.com/Clownpage/Hartford.html, a website on Clown and circus history. "Thirteen years old, Donald was the first to think of using a knife to cut through the (tent) sidewall to safety. Hundreds poured through the hole he had made, and others began to take similar measures to get out of the big top. Donald couldn't find the man he'd come to the circus with, so he cut another hole in the canvas to get back in. He found his companion next to a little girl who had been trampled, and picked up the girl and exited with his companion."

Donald's heroics earned him a special Connecticut Distinguished Civilian War Service Medal, then the highest civilian medal possible; he was also awarded a scholarship to the University of Connecticut, from which he graduated in 1948. With his parents full encouragement and backed by a successful career, Don was able to build an important collection of United States large cents by die variety. In his later years he spent most of his free time with his loving companion, Juliet Guimond, who was my fiancé's mother. They would attend many local coin shows where he would tell me he had to get there very early to compete with the man he considered his main competition and a worthy adversary, Dick August. Don and Dick competed for mostly State colonials and Fugio cents. One would have to say that both men achieved quite a bit of success over the years. In his later years his health began to fail but the spark of desire to get that next coin never diminished. I was able to help Don find some new avenues with the help of a few knowledgeable specialists, most prominently Jeff Rock. The internet was another very important tool in building a substantial collection of state colonials, primarily Connecticut Coppers. I will miss Don, but his legacy lives on in the colonial coins that now pass, as they always do, immortal, they speak about each hand that touches them, giving to each of us a bit of that immortality. Save me a seat, my friend, I'll be listening for you beckoning for that next copper.

# C4 LIBRARY NEWS

(Leo Shane)

Below is a continuation of the donations of auction catalogs by Steve Saari. With this list and those in the previous *Newsletter*, Steve has given us a glimpse into the world of 1960's and 1970's auctions catalogs. Thanks Steve. Also below are new items donated to the club since the last *C4 Newsletter*. They are now available for loan to any C4 member. A complete list of library holdings and instructions on how to borrow them is available at the C4 website www.colonialcoins.org. Thanks to all who have donated items.

Your Librarian has found a box of Auction Catalogs that he did not know he had. They are dated from 1988 to 1994 and are now part of the C4 Library holdings. There are 47 new additions to the auction list. A few of the more notable ones are mentioned below. If you had looked for something in the past and did not find it, please look again at the revised list.

**Books, Manuscripts & Auction Catalogs:**

Lester Merkin, *Public Auction Sale,* 6-7 March 1968, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Harmer Rooke, *Unristricted Public & Mail Auction,* 27-28 May 1970, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Stacks, *United States Gold Silver and Copper Coins,* 3-4 December 1971, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Lester Merkin, *Public Auction Sale,* 12 February 1972, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Hollinbeck Kagin *298th Mail Sale of Exceptional Numismatic Material,* 11 September 1972, Des Moines, IA – Donated by Steve Saari.

Lester Merkin, *Public Auction Sale,* 6-7 October 1972, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Harmer Rooke, *A Two Part Auction – US Coins Ancient & Foreign Coins,* 5-6 December & 12-13 December 1972, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Lester Merkin, *Public Auction Sale,* 31 October 1973, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Stacks, *United States Coins and Paper Money,* 27-28 June 1974, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Lester Merkin, *Public Auction Sale,* 11 September 1974, New York, NY – Donated by Steve Saari.

Perlitz, Wm. F., "John Chalmers, Issuer of the Annapolis Coinage," *The Numismatist*, Volumne LXI No.11, November 1948, pages 721-722, Wichita, KS – Donated by Todd Gredesky.

Stacks, *The Gilbert Steinberg Collection of Washington, Lincoln, Columbus and United States Mint Medals,* 6 May 1992, New York, NY – Donated by Leo Shane.

Stacks, *The Gilbert Steinberg Collection of United States Paper Money, Indian Peace Medals,* 18 October 1988, New York, NY – Donated by Leo Shane.

Mid America, *The 1986 GNA Sale – Featuring the Collection of Wayne J. Skiles*, 23-24 May 1986, Atlanta, GA – Donated by Leo Shane.

Coin Galleries, *Ancient and Modern Coins of the World and the United States featuring a Specialized Group of US Colonial Coins,* 9 November 1988, New York, NY – Donated by Leo Shane.

Coin Galleries, *Ancient and Modern Coins of the World and the United States featuring the Richard Picker Collection of Brockages,* 24 May 1989, New York, NY – Donated by Leo Shane.

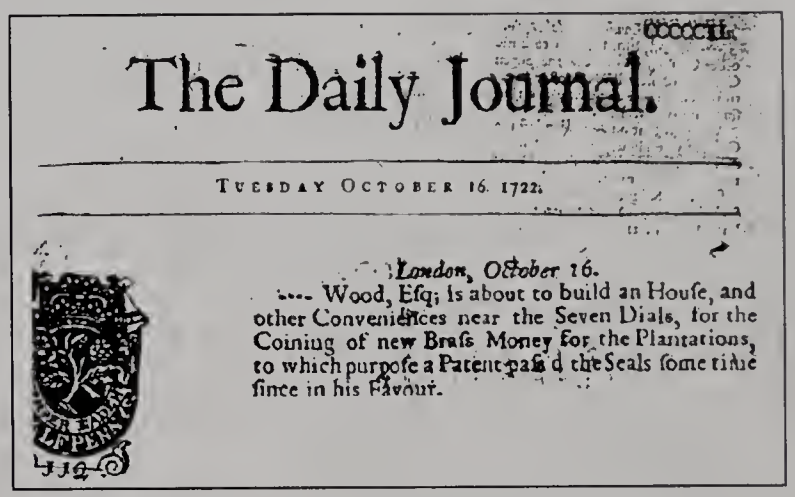
Coin Galleries, *Ancient and Modern Coins of the World and the United States featuring the Richard Picker Reference Collection of Struck Colonial copies, Colonial coins...,* 7 November 1990, New York, NY – Donated by Leo Shane.

*Suggestions for additions to the library are always appreciated. Please consider donating books, auction catalogs, etc. to the library. Remember, those who are learning about colonials now are those who will be buying your coins later. Thank You, my email is Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com -- or write to me at 1130 Woods Lane, Warminster, PA 18974.*

## **********ANNOUNCEMENTS**********

# C4 ANNOUNCES THE RELEASE OF ITS LATEST BOOK: THE ROSA AMERICANA COINAGE OF WILLIAM WOOD

by Sydney F. Martin


The Daily Journal.

TUESDAY OCTOBER 16. 1722.

London, October 16.

---- Wood, Esq; is about to build an House, and other Conveniencies near the Seven Dials, for the Coining of new Brass Money for the Plantations, to which purpose a Patent past d the Seals some time since in his Favour.

William Wood conceived a plan to manufacture coins for Britain's American Plantations, which were constantly in need of small change to support everyday commercial trans-actions. This plan became entangled in the politics and economic theories of the day, with King George, his mistress, Isaac Newton, Robert Walpole, and other English notables, as well as the colonial merchants, playing key roles in the story behind the production and distribution of the coins.

Drawing upon his original research the author examines the historical context in which the coins were produced, integrating often conflicting existing material. Particular attention is paid to the methods employed in manufacturing these coins, from the underlying metallurgy, to the process of preparing and striking the planchets, the locations where they were made and their circulation patterns.

A catalogue of known die varieties is developed for each of the three denominations issued. Some 21 varieties of halfpence, 66 varieties of pence, and 36 varieties of twopence are identified. As well as describing the coins themselves, he has explored related experimental and pattern issues, providing new insights into these enigmatic issues. Production quantities are estimated, rarity and condition census data developed, and major holdings examined.

Michael Hodder, in his *Introduction* states "The best advice anyone can take before undertaking a difficult research project is condensed in this quotation from Marcus Portius Cato Censorius (234-149 B.C.): 'Master the subject, the words will follow.' Syd Martin's new book on William Wood's Rosa Americana issues is a good example of the continuing aptness of the saying."

The book, which is enjoying favorable reviews, can be obtained from Charles Davis, Numismatic Literature, P.O. Box 547, Wenham, MA 01984; Tel: 978-468-2933; Fax: (978) 468 7893; email: numislit@aol.com.

**********

## Obtaining Back Copies of C4 Newsletter and C4 Auction Catalogues

Wayne Shelby has agreed to store the back copies of the *C4 Newsletter*. People wishing to purchase back issues that are still available should send their money to our treasurer, Charlie Rohrer, whose contact data are at page 2. Upon receipt of the money, he will contact Wayne, who will mail out the material. Back copies of the *Newsletter* are $10 for the first and $8 for all after that placed at the same time. If you have questions of what material is available, you can contact Wayne at:

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## C4 Offers Important Colonial Books

For more information on the following three books, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), visit the C4 website at www.colonialcoins.org. These books may be ordered directly from: Charles Davis, Numismatic Literature, P.O. Box 547, Wenham, MA 01984; Tel: 978-468-2933; Fax: (978) 468 7893; email: numislit@aol.com.

(1) Jordan, Lou. *John Hull, The Mint, and The Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2002.

(2) Vlack, Robert. *An Illustrated Catalogue of the French Billon Coinage in the Americas*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2004.

(3) Martin, Sydney. *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood (1722-1724)*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2007.

Hardbound copies of past C4 auction catalogues are available in very limited numbers. If interested, contact Ray Williams or Leo Shane.

**********

The Daniel Frank Sedwick database of fake cobs is now on ForgeryNetwork :
http://www.forgerynetwork.com/default.aspx?keyword=cob..http://www.forgerynetwork.com/asset.aspx?id=QEjfzd5ZR~x~8=

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## The Silver Coins of Massachusetts.

*The Silver Coins of Massachusetts* by Christopher J. Salmon is a splendidly illustrated review of the silver coins of Massachusetts, employing the latest historical and numismatic evidence as well as novel scientific analysis. Minting techniques are explored in detail. All varieties of the coinage are newly classified with a consistent yet flexible taxonomic system that lists the varieties in chronological order and can readily accommodate potential future discoveries. The system allows an appreciation for how varieties evolved and the relative degree of change that occurred at each step. It is designed to be as simple as possible without oversimplifying, with all varieties named according to their obverse and reverse dies. The book includes a fully illustrated atlas that

details important characteristic features. The last part of the atlas displays each variety at actual size to aid in attribution. Regardless of your specialty, adding a Massachusetts Shilling to your collection is always a welcome event. Consider adding this book to your library. To order, call Megan at ANS with your credit card at 212-571-4470 ext 117.

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## C4 Membership Dues

Annual dues are currently $25.00 for Regular Membership and $10.00 for Junior Membership (under 18 years of age). They are payable on a calendar year basis... due January 1. The year through which you are paid appears after your name on the mailing address label on the *C4 Newsletter* envelope. Life Memberships can be purchased for 25 times the annual membership cost, or $625.00. You may mail checks (made out to "C4") to:

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Thank you for paying in a timely manner... It makes his job easier and will be much appreciated!

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www.money.org

C4 will hold our annual ANA Meeting
Saturday August 11th at 9:00 AM in
Room 104A of the Convention Center

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## NEW RESOURCE FOR THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Our C4 Newsletter now has an index available on our website at www.colonialcoins.org. There are actually two indexes: one by author and a second by topic/title. This is a beginning and the index will improve over time. We have intentions of updating the index within a week or two of every issue being shipped. We ask past authors and contributors to the C4N to please review their work in the index and forward any corrections/additions/suggestions to Ray Williams at njraywms@optonline.net or give a call.

# CLASSIFIED ADS

Grayscale ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows (color ads are 50% more in each category):

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Covers cost somewhat more (please inquire). If you want to include a photo with your ad there will be an additional $10 charge. A black and white photo will be needed, but the size can be adjusted. Please send check with your ad. We accept camera-ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 10 lines of text.

NOTICE: The Colonial Coin Collectors Club does not review the ads provided for accuracy, nor does it assess any items offered for sale relative to authenticity, correct descriptions, or the like. C4 is not to be considered a party to any transactions occurring between members based on such ads, and will in no way be responsible to either the buyer or seller.

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The Earliest American Coppers. Contemporary Counterfeit British & Irish Halfpence and Farthings. My personal collections built over the past decade are now for sale. We now have a webpage up and running with most coins imaged and priced. More will go up from time to time. I also have some Colonials and Spanish American Colonials-Cobs up. There are currently about 12 categories populated with coins for sale, they are; British George II, British George III, Irish George II, Irish George III, Counterstamps, Cast Ctfts, Mules, Errors, Regal's Colonials and Cobs. In the near future I will be adding some interesting Misc. I am still selling CD's of my collections, the details are on the webpages. Postage is always free for C4 and EAC members. Please use the savings towards next years dues ;-). Please visit the webpages and feel free to email with any questions.
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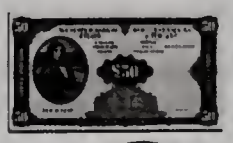

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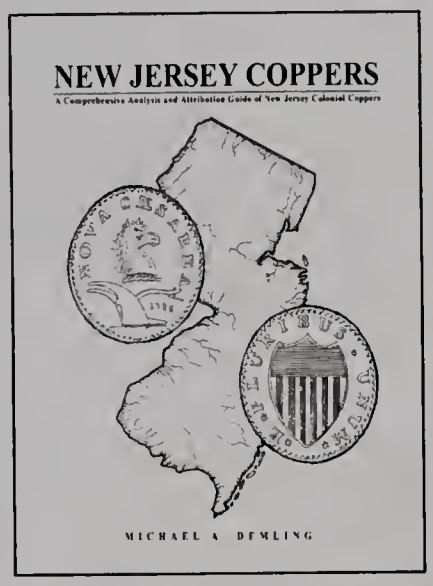


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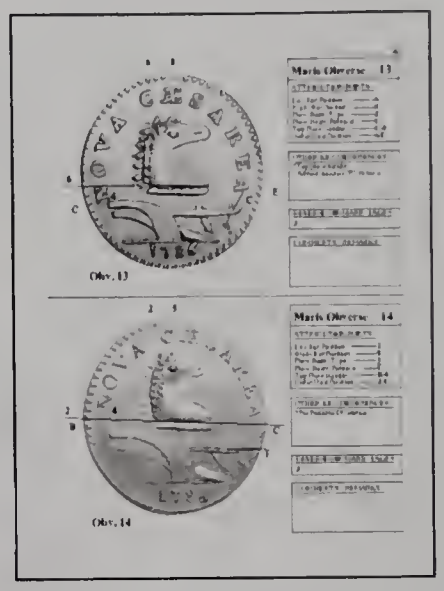

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